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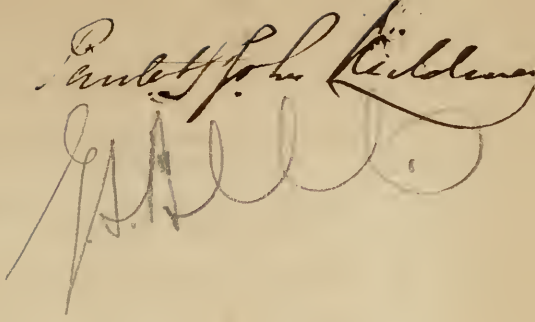

THE CONQUERORS OF THE NEW WORLD AND THEIR BONDSMEN.

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THE CONQUERORS OF
THE NEW WORLD
AND THEIR BONDSMEN

BEING A NARRATIVE OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS
WHICH LED TO NEGRO SLAVERY IN
THE WEST INDIES AND
AMERICA

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VOLUME THE SECOND

LONDON
WILLIAM PICKERING
1852

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CHAPTER I.

NATURE AND CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS—MINOR VOYAGES—ESTABLISHMENT OF DARIEN—FATE OF OJEDA AND NICUESA.

THE courſe of hiſtory is like that of a great river wandering through various countries; now, in the infancy of its current, collecting its waters from obſcure ſmall ſprings in plaſhy meadows, and from unconſidered rivulets which the neighbouring ruſtics do not know the name of; now, in its boiſterous youth, forcing its way ſtraight through mountains; now, in middle life, going with equable current buſily by great towns, its waters ſullied yet enriched with commerce; and now, in its burdened old age, making its ſlow and difficult way with great broad ſurface, over which the declining ſun looms grandly, to the ſea. The uninſtructed or careleſs traveller generally finds

but one form of beauty or of meaning in the river: the romantic gorge or wild caſcade is perhaps the only kind of ſcenery which delights him. And ſo it has often been in our eſtimate of hiſtory. Well-fought battles, or the doings of gay courts, or bloody revolutions, have been the chief ſources of attraction; while leſs well-dreſſed events, but not of leſs real intereſt or import, have often eſcaped all notice.

In order to gain ſome of that intereſt in the preſent ſubject which would ariſe from better knowledge of the perſons principally concerned, it is deſirable to endeavour to underſtand the nature of the Indian people, on whoſe fate this narrative mainly turns—a fate which has perhaps had as much effect upon the world as that of any of the moſt diſtinguiſhed nations.

It is a very difficult thing for one people to underſtand another, even if they are of the ſame age as a nation and equally advanced in civilization; ſtill more difficult is it for a partially civilized people to appreciate a people living comparatively in a ſtate of nature. And as this was the relation between the Spaniards and many nations of the Indians, we muſt tranſlate, as it were, with much circumſpection the accounts

which the conquerors give of the conquered into our own reading of the matter. We ſee in this day, that civilized people of the ſame race, religion, habits, manners, and language, often miſunderſtand each other utterly. Imagine, then, how great muſt be the chance of falſe interpretation, when men of different races talk together in language moſt imperfectly underſtood, eked out by ſigns, about ſubjects upon which they have ſcarcely any common ideas!

And then, too, there is that tyrannous deſire for uniformity which confounds the judgment of men when they are commenting upon each other individually; ſo that you often find that a long criticiſm upon a man, or his work; is but a demand that he ſhould be ſomebody elſe, and his work ſomebody elſe's work. And nations make the ſame fooliſh comments upon each other that individual men do. What a world it would have been, if a man had been liſtened to in the making of it! One or two kinds of trees, a few flowers of the form and colour which pleaſed him, and happened to ſuit the exact ſpot where he was ſtanding, and one ſpecies of mankind, his own, would have filled up, handſomely, as he would think, his formal village world. But great rich Nature, apparently unreckoning, almoſt reckleſs,

in her affluence, though we know all the time how bound ſhe is to weight and number, ſmiles with every variety and inequality of form and colour, of life and deſire, of character and conduct.

Having thus put in ſome plea for diverſity of nature amongſt men, I will endeavour to give my reader ſome notion of the Indians, not ſupporting my views by exact and formal references, but ſimply giving ſuch a deſcription of the Indians as a traveller might have done who had juſt come from thoſe parts of the world, and was aſked what were his general impreſſions of the people he had been ſtaying amongſt.

In the firſt place, the outward appearance of the Indians was prepoſſeſſing; they had a mild expreſſion of countenance, a gentle ſmile, a beautiful form, with good complexion and ſoftneſs of body, and a general gracefulneſs of movement.

In many parts of America, the manners, and perhaps the whole aſpect of the people would have given you the notion of perſons of decayed fortune, who had once been more proſperous and formidable than they were now, or who had been the off-ſhoot of a more defined and forcible people. Theſe nations had probably travelled much, whe-

ther they had come from Judæa or Phœnicia (as ſome have ſaid); or, as I ſhould ſay was moſt probable, if I were called upon to pronounce ſome opinion on the matter, from Eaſtern Aſia and the adjacent iſlands. The rumour of a deluge was largely current in ſome parts of the Indies. Then the ſingular correſpondence, in point of length, of the Mexican year, $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, with that of the Egyptians, the five complementary days, correſponding to the epagomena of the Memphian year, the reſemblance of the Teocalli, or God-houſes, to the temple of Jupiter Belus, with many other ſtrange reſemblances in rites and modes of thought and expreſſion, almoſt compel us to give a common origin to theſe nations of the New World and to the Eaſtern nations of the old world.*

In ſome of the Indian tribes things were to be found which reminded the traveller of the higheſt products and the higheſt thoughts of civilization. Hieroglyphics, ſtatues, carvings, pictures, works of metal, and delicate fabrics of cotton, atteſt this. Various kinds of bread were to be ſeen

* Such, I imagine, would be the concluſion of Humboldt, from whom I gain theſe particulars, but who is very careful of pronouncing any judgment, as, indeed, large inveſtigation in theſe doubtful matters makes men careful of coming to any concluſion.

among them, and not unſkilful modes of cultivation. In dances and in ſongs they excelled. Moreover, ſome of the moſt elevating and ſome of the moſt ſubtle and far-fetched notions that have ever entered into the minds of men, were to be found domeſticated amongſt the Indians. Thus prayer, prophecy, monaſtic life, the confeſſion of ſin to appointed confeſſors, the immortality of the ſoul, and hopes of a future ſtate of bliſs, belief in witchcraft, and the propitiation of idols by living ſacrifices—the deepeſt thoughts and the wildeſt ſuperſtitions—were not unknown in the New World.

In order to bring home more clearly to the mind of the reader what kind of mental civilization the Indians had, when they were civilized, I cannot do better than give an account of two prayers that remain to us, which were in uſe among the Mexicans. The one was uſed after a kind of auricular confeſſion, which, however, it appears, occurred only once in a lifetime.

After the penitent had confeſſed his ſins to the ſatrap, the ſatrap addreſſed the God Tezcatlipuk in this faſhion: "Our Lord moſt gracious, the defender and favourer of all; you have juſt heard the confeſſion of this poor ſinner, in which he has made known in your preſence his rottenneſs and

filthineſs." He then goes on to ſay, in words which I ſhall abridge, that the ſinner may have concealed ſome of his ſins, in which caſe dire will be his puniſhment; but perchance he has ſpoken the whole truth, and now feels "dolour and diſcontent" for all that is paſt, and firm reſolve never to ſin more. Then the ſatrap ſaid, "I "ſpeak in preſence of your Majeſty, who knoweſt "all things, and knoweſt that this poor wretch "did not ſin with entire liberty of free will, but "was helped and inclined to it by the natural "condition of the ſign under which he was born. "And ſince it is ſo, O moſt gracious Lord, de-"fender and favourer of all men, even if this "poor man has grievouſly offended againſt you, "peradventure will you not cauſe your anger "and your indignation to depart from him?" * Continuing in this ſtrain, the ſatrap beſought pardon and remiſſion of ſins, "a thing which "deſcends from heaven as cleareſt and pureſt

* "En preſencia de vueſtra mageſtad hablo, que ſabe todas las "coſas, y ſabeis que eſte pobre no pecó con libertad entera del "libre albedrió, porque fué ayudado é inclinado de la condicion "natural del ſigno en que nació. Y pues que aſi és, O Señor "humaniſimo, amparador y favorecedor de todos, pueſto caſo "que gravemente os haya ofendido eſte pobre hombre, ¿ por "ventura no apartareis vueſtra ira y vueſtra indignacion de el?" —*Antiquities of Mexico*, KINGSBOROUGH, vol. 5, p. 368.

" water," with which " your Majeſty," he ſaid, " waſhes away and purifies all the ſtains and " filthineſs which ſins cauſe in the ſoul" (*todas las mancillas, y ſuciedades, que los pecados cauſan en el anima*).

Then the ſatrap addreſſed the penitent, and told him that he had come to a place of much danger and labour and dread, where there is a ravine from which no one who had once fallen in, could make his eſcape; alſo, he had come to a place where ſnares and nets are ſet one with another, and one over againſt another. All this is ſaid metaphorically of the world and of ſin. The ſatrap went on to ſpeak of the judgment to come in another world, and of the lake of miſeries and intolerable torments. " But now, here " you are," he ſaid to the penitent, " and the " time is arrived in which you have had pity " on yourſelf to ſpeak with our Lord, who ſees " the ſecrets of hearts." And then the ſatrap told the penitent there was a new birth for him, but he muſt look to his ways well, and ſee that he ſinned no more. Finally, he muſt cleanſe his houſe * and himſelf, and ſeek a ſlave to ſacri-

* In reference to this cleanſing of the houſe, the prayer ſays, " Carefully cleanſe and preſerve thy houſe, and thou wilt often " meet that moſt gracious youth who ever goes through our

fice before God (there is the blot on the whole proceeding), and he muſt work a year or more in the houſe of God, and undergo penitential exerciſes, piercing his tongue for the injurious words it had uttered; and he muſt give in charity even to the depriving of himſelf of ſuſtenance: "for "look," ſaid the ſatrap, ſpeaking of the poor, "their fleſh is as thy fleſh, and they are men as "thou art, eſpecially the ſick, for they are the "image of God. There is no more to ſay to "thee; go in peace; and I pray God that he "may help thee to perform that which thou art "bound to do, for he is gracious to all men." *

The next prayer is that of a king, or governor, upon his election, in which, after celebrating the greatneſs of God (this alſo is addreſſed to Tezcatlipuk), and debaſing himſelf before Him,

---

"houſes, and through our diſtricts comforting and recreating, "and works ſeeking his friends to conſole them, and be conſoled "with them." This is ſaid entirely in a ſpiritual ſenſe, for the prayer has juſt declared that God is "inviſible and impalpable." —*Antiquities of Mexico*, KINGSBOROUGH, vol. 5, p. 370.

* "Mira que ſu carne és como la tuya, y que ſon hombres "como tu; mayormente á los enfermos porque ſon imágen de "Dios. No hay mas que te decir; vete en paz, y ruego á Dios "que te ayude á cumplir lo que eres obligado á hacer, pues que "el favorece á todos."—*Antiquities of Mexico*, KINGSBOROUGH, vol. 5, p. 371.

ſaying that he deſerves blindneſs of his eyes and cruſhing of his body (a confeſſion which many rulers might make after they have had the government), he goes on to ſay, that he it is who requires to be governed, and that the Lord muſt know many to whom he could confide this charge of government; but ſince "you are de-"termined," he ſays, "to put me as an object "of ſcandal and laughter for the world, let your "will be done." "Peradventure," he exclaims, "you do not know who I am. After that you "know what perſon I am, you will ſeek another, "depriving me of the government, being weary "of enduring me. Perchance," he adds, "it is a "dream, or as when one riſes from his bed in his "ſleep, this thing which has happened to me." The prayer then proceeds, as the prayer of a ruler naturally would do, againſt war and againſt peſtilence, and ſpeaks of former rulers, and, if I underſtand it rightly, of their joys and privileges in heaven; and then he comes to ſpeak of his own inferiority, how he has no poſſibility of ruling himſelf, how he is in darkneſs, how he is a heap of refuſe in a corner. "Be gracious, therefore, "O Lord," he exclaims, "and give me a little "light, if it be no more than ſo much as a glow-"worm which moves by night throws out from

" itſelf, that I may find my way in this dream
" and this ſleep of life, which laſts as a day,
" where there are many occaſions for ſtumbling,
" and many things to give occaſion for laughter,
" and other things that are as a rugged road,
" which have to be paſſed by leaping." *

He concludes by ſaying, " Our Lord moſt
" gracious, you have made me fit in your ſeat
" and be your inſtrument of voice (*vueſtra flauta*)
" without any deſert of my own;" and afterwards he adds, " Although I am a poor crea-
" ture, I wiſh to ſay that unworthily I am your
" image, and repreſent your perſon, and the
" words which I ſhall ſpeak have to be held as
" your words, and my countenance to be eſteemed
" as your countenance, and my hearing as your
" hearing, and the puniſhments that I ſhall or-
" dain have to be conſidered as if you ordained
" them; wherefore, I pray you, put within me
" your ſpirit and your words, that all may obey,
" and that none may be able to contradict."

---

* " Tened por bien, Señor, de me dar un poquito de lumbre,
" aunque no ſea mas de quanto echa de ſi una lucerna que anda
" de noche, para ir en eſte ſueño y en eſta vida dormida que dura
" como eſpacio de un dia, donde hay muchas coſas en que tro-
" pezar, y muchas coſas en que dar ocaſion de reir; y otras coſas
" que ſon como camino fragoſo, que ſe han de paſar ſaltando."—
Antiquities of Mexico, KINGSBOROUGH, vol. 5, p. 379.

After reading ſuch prayers as the above, which at any rate have ſome grandeur in them, it is impoſſible to help ſmiling when ſome Spaniſh narrator, who has been commenting upon the folly and idolatry of the Indians, ſhows himſelf to be the very child of ſuperſtition, telling you perhaps how an evil ſpirit who was kept in durance by an Engliſh monk, promiſed, if releaſed, to give him figs at Chriſtmas, and accordingly brought figs from the Indies at that time, for which the evil ſpirit received his liberty.

With reſpect to the moral qualities of the Indians, I think it may be ſaid that they were leſs treacherous than moſt other uncultivated people. Of their valour or the want of it, it is difficult to ſpeak, becauſe it is almoſt impoſſible to eſtimate duly the advantages which their conquerors, the Spaniards, poſſeſſed in having arms, horſes, and diſcipline. Individual inſtances of the moſt determined bravery on the part of the Indians are frequent in the early hiſtories of their conquerors. The Spaniards are wont to ſpeak of the idleneſs of the Indians; but what alacrity could be expected from any man who, under a tropical ſun,

is employed in gathering gold for other people?*

Another complaint often urged againſt the Indians for the firſt ſixty or ſeventy years after the diſcovery of America, was that it was impoſſible to make them live in polity. This was an ill-founded complaint. The Indians hated the polity of the Spaniards, and very juſtly ſo, conſidering the expounders of this polity whom they encountered. But ſucceeding events, and indeed contemporaneous ones, ſhowed that the Indians were a docile people, and could adopt with all reaſonable readineſs the religion and polity which the Spaniards were deſirous of impreſſing upon them.

I do not pretend that all the traces of cultivation I have mentioned were to be found in any one tribe or nation of Indians: but looking at them for a moment as one race of men under different circumſtances, it is not unfair to bring

* The Indians might well complain of the idleneſs of the Spaniards. An old Indian of Nicaragua thus addreſſes Benzoni, who commenced his travels in the Indies in 1541: "Chriſtiani "operari nolunt, ludificatores ſunt, aleatores, pravi et blaſphemi. "Quum ad Miſſam audiendam templum ineunt, de abſentibus "detrahunt: et alii aliis plagas et vulnera imponunt. Ad extre-"mum eo evaſit ut concluderet Chriſtianos minime eſſe bonos. "Quumque excepiſſem, malos, non autem bonos, ea facere: tum "ille, Ubinam ſunt illi boni? inquit. Quippe ipſe quidem non-"dum ullos, niſi malos, cognovi."—Benzoni, *Hiſt. Nov. Orbis*, lib. 2, cap. 16.

together the different developments of this race, for the purpoſe at leaſt of ſhowing the poſſibilities which were in it. It is alſo worthy of remark, that thoſe Indians who had, perhaps, the leaſt of what we ordinarily call cultivation, give the idea of having been the moſt cultivable, while the Mexicans, rich in arts and knowledge of various kinds, were cruel idolaters. In the caſe of the Indians who lived more ſimply, ſuch as the aborigines of Cuba, Hiſpaniola, and the inhabitants of the Terra Firma (near the Iſthmus of Darien) the very ſimplicity of life went far to prevent covetouſneſs; and even where religious rites and ceremonies were leaſt developed, natural religion in its beſt form ſeems to have prevailed. "They "had no form of worſhip," ſays Herrera, ſpeaking of the people of the Terra Firma, "but they "held it ſinful to kill, to ſteal, and to commit "adultery; and they abhorred lying."*

This difference which I have juſt noticed between the Mexicans and the inhabitants of Cuba, ſeems to me to pervade great part of the continent, and to make it appear as if there had been two centres from which the development of the

* "No tenian adoracion alguna, ſinó tener por pecado, el ma-"tar, hurtar, y tomar agena muger, y aborrecian el mentir."—HERRERA, dec. 2, l. 3, c. 5.

various nations in America proceeded, generating two kinds of cultivation. The one was adroit, unimaginative, cruel and tending to a worſhip of the outer world. This cultivation culminated in the Mexicans.

Then there was the other which received its higheſt development amongſt the Peruvians, in whoſe religion and religious worſhip a grand ſimplicity prevailed. It has been noticed, I think, that the view which the firſt Inca gave of death, by what he ſaid at the approach of his own death, was probably the means of preventing human ſacrifices in Peru. Calling his principal people around him, he told them that he intended to return immediately to the heavens to reſt himſelf with his father, the Sun, who was calling him: and this form of ſpeech was uſed by all ſucceeding Incas when they felt themſelves to be dying. The worſhip of the Peruvians was not a mere worſhip of the ſun alone, as of the moſt beautiful and powerful thing which they beheld; but they had alſo a worſhip of a far more refined and elevated nature addreſſed to Pachacamac, the ſoul of the univerſe, whom they hardly dared to name; and when they were obliged to name this Being, they did ſo inclining the head and the whole body, now lifting up the eyes to heaven, now lowering them

to the ground, and giving kiſſes in the air. To Pachacamac they made no temple and offered no ſacrifice; but they adored him in their hearts. Their ſacrifices to the ſun were rams and ſheep and the produce of the earth; and, as the Romans poured out libations to their gods, ſo the Peruvians, in ſign of adoration to the ſun, were wont to throw a drop into the air and kiſſes with it.

How different from the formal, elaborate, and bloody ſacrifices of the Mexicans!

This difference, which I ſeem to ſee throughout the Indian nations, may point to two different races, or may be merely a development in different directions of the ſame race: and, indeed, if the opinion is found, that men are all to be traced up to one family, the difference of all races has been produced in this way, namely, by a development of one part of the human character and form, the reſt remaining comparatively latent.

One thing, as Humboldt remarks, is very much to be noted in the ancient records and traditions of the Indian nations. In no leſs than three remarkable inſtances has ſuperior civilization been attributed to the ſudden preſence amongſt them of perſons differing from themſelves in appearance and deſcent.

Bochica, a white man with a beard, appeared to the Mozca Indians in the plains of Bogota, taught them how to build and to ſow, formed them into communities, gave an outlet to the waters of the great lake, and, having ſettled the government civil and eccleſiaſtical, retired into a monaſtic ſtate of penitence for two thouſand years.

In like manner Manco Capac, accompanied by his ſiſter, Mama Oello, deſcended amongſt the Peruvians, gave them a code of admirable laws, reduced them into communities, and then aſcended to his father, the Sun.

Amongſt the Mexicans there ſuddenly appeared Quetzalcohuatl (green-feathered ſnake),* a white and bearded man, of broad brow (*ancha la frente*) dreſſed in ſtrange dreſs, a legiſlator, who recommended ſevere penances, lacerating his own body with the prickles of the agave and the thorns of the cactus, but who diſſuaded his followers from human ſacrifice. While he remained in Anahuac, it was a Saturnian reign, but this great legiſlator, after moving on to the plains of Cholula and governing the Cholulans with wiſdom, paſſed away to a diſtant country,

* Green-feathered, means eloquent. "Plumage rico y de perfecto color.—Díceſe por la oracion elegante ó muy bien compueſta."—KINGSBOROUGH *Coll.* vol. 7, p. 181.

and was never heard of more. It is ſaid briefly of him* that "he ordained ſacrifices of flowers "and fruit, and ſtopped his ears when he was "ſpoken to of war."† Such a ſaint is needed in all times, even in the preſent advanced ſtate of civilization in the Old World.

I cannot help imagining that ſomewhat of the ſame difference which has been pointed out between the two great branches of the Indians, might perhaps be traced in their numerous languages alſo. The language that firſt ſounded on the ears of Columbus was exquiſitely ſweet, and ſo the Indian tongues were found to be in other parts, but the language of the Mexicans is to our apprehenſion harſh in the extreme. Indeed a language, in which the word for a kiſs is *tetennamiquiliztli*, can hardly be an inviting one for the "gay ſcience" of troubadours, or for aught that is gentle.

I cannot conclude this brief account of the In-

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* Humboldt's Reſearches in America.

† Dicen que quando quiera que nombraba delante de él, muertes, o guerras, ó otros males, tocantes á daños de los hombres, bolvia la cara á otra parte, y ſe tapaba los oidos, por no verlos, ni oirlos. — TORQUEMADA, *Monarquia Indiana*, lib. 6, c. 24.

dians without adverting to their ancient monuments and ruined cities. Thoſe who wiſh to ſtudy this people muſt turn to the ruins of the temples, or the tombs, at Mitla, Palenque, and Copan; muſt inveſtigate the primeval remains of buildings to be found on the borders of the vaſt lake of Titicaca and the adjacent plain of Tiahuaco; muſt conſider well the pyramids of Papantla and Cholúla; and ſtill further ponder over the clear ſigns of an early and conſiderable civilization which ſeems to have exiſted in a ſomewhat ſimilar form in places ſo widely aſunder as Canada and the banks of the Orinoco. It has been ſaid that little will be learnt to advance art, or increaſe our knowledge of beauty, from a ſtudy of any American monuments—an aſſertion which I think is completely contradicted by the Grecques on the temple, or palace, at Mitla, and ſtill more by the recently diſcovered ruins of Copan. There is a monument amongſt the many remarkable ones brought to light there, which I think is one of the grandeſt that remains to us, as far as I know, of all antiquity.* It is a coloſſal figure, the head of which greatly reſembles that of Napoleon, only that it has that grand Egyptian mildneſs and

* Stephens's Central America, vol. 1, p. 140.

ſedate intelligence which faſcinate our attention in the monuments of that myſterious country.

Putting aſide, however, all queſtions of beauty, I have no doubt that it is of the utmoſt importance that the learned ſhould deeply inveſtigate and conſider the ancient monuments of America. I think I foreſee a time (if the nations of the earth are not too much employed in warring and ſo contriving how they may be worſe and worſe governed) when reſearches which are being undertaken in various parts of the world, will be made to converge to a far larger knowledge of the early records of this earth, and will be brought in aid to ſolve ſome of the moſt important queſtions with reſpect to the early peopling of the world, the migrations of races, and the capabilities of different races in enduring different climates.

In this very narrative which we are about to reſume, queſtions of race occupy the foremoſt place; not only in the cells of the ſtudious, but in the courts of kings and on battle-plains. I have not the ſlighteſt doubt, for inſtance, that the account in the Bible of the origin of our firſt parents and the unity of the human race (which will be found conſtantly referred to) was the cauſe of millions of people, whole nations, being maintained upon the earth.

Thoſe Indians whom the Spaniſh prieſts and ſtateſmen were able to preſerve from the cruelty and reckleſſneſs of their countrymen, owed their preſervation to this baſis of thought, that whatever appearances might ſay to the contrary, the conquerors and the conquered were originally of one race.

Again, the intereſt of theſe ancient ſtone-written or parchment-painted records of America, is redoubled by the wonderful reſemblance, and occaſionally the abſolute identity, of the Indian traditions with the hiſtory in the Bible, of which reſemblance the account of the Deluge and of the tower of Babel are moſt ſtriking examples.* And, in fine, to determine what we muſt hold to and what we muſt diſmiſs in early chronology, is a branch of reſearch that muſt not be abandoned. Indeed, increaſed knowledge of the arts of life, of ſcience, and of the nature of man, far from ren-

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* "He," Xelhua, "ordered bricks to be made in the province "of Tlamanalco, at the foot of the Sierra of Cocotl, and to con- "vey them to Cholula he placed a file of men, who paſſed them "from hand to hand. The gods beheld with wrath this edifice, "the top of which was to reach the clouds. Irritated by the daring "attempt of Xelhua, they hurled fire on the pyramid. Num- "bers of the workmen periſhed; the works were diſcontinued, "and the monument was afterwards dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, "the god of the air." — HUMBOLDT'S *Reſearches in America*, vol. 1, p. 96.

dering ſuch reſearch of leſs intereſt, will only give a deeper meaning to it.

Having ſaid thus much of the nature, cuſtoms, religion and antiquities of the Indians, I reſume the ſtory of their conqueſt, which left off at the publication of the laws of Burgos in favour of the Indians.

Coloniza-tion of the Terra Firma.

Hitherto the narrative has been confined to Hiſpaniola and the mother country, and has gone chronologically in one direction; but it will be neceſſary now to turn back to thoſe enterprizes which led to the colonization of the Continent of South America, of the Terra Firma, as it was always called at that time.

The voyages which for this purpoſe muſt be examined and recounted, were for the moſt part disjointed undertakings, often fruitleſs and diſcreditable to thoſe engaged in them, and very unſatisfactory and difficult to relate. But they led to great changes in the world. They give a picture of Spaniſh enterprize during that period, and ſhow it ſpreading over the new world like water finding its level; unhappily, however, not in force or quantity enough to form great naviga-

ble rivers or deep ſeas, but merely wide ſtagnant unhealthy marſhes. So many of theſe ſmaller enterprizes were eminently unſucceſsful as regards the fortunes of the perſons engaged in them, that we may wonder at firſt at the ſteady continuance of ſuch undertakings. But who then could reſiſt embarking in them? The truth is, life is tedious: we mock at gameſters, and rightly, becauſe the chances are often manifeſtly againſt them; but who, except a few cold-blooded philoſophers, does not wiſh to try his fortunes in ſome adventurous way? Everybody knows well the inconveniences of the ſtate in which he lives, and where he has probably miſſed the reſpect, or the love, which he hoped for; and he thinks that at leaſt it will be ſomething gained to have a change of evils.

Then the notions of the earth which were held at that period were ſo wild, ſo vague, ſo tempting. No Copernicus had as yet made thoſe beginnings of aſtronomical ſcience which were to reduce, even in the popular imagination, the bounds of the world to their juſt inſignificance. The earth was indefinitely large; there was then an India for everybody to diſcover; the ſtars were concerned in the deſtinies of men; and even wiſe and prudent perſons partook ſomewhat

of the mood of children when deep in the ſtudy of fairy-tales, where courage and adventure always come to a good end.

The firſt diſcovery of the mainland of America was made by Columbus in the courſe of his third voyage in the year 1498. It was at Paria.

Ojeda's firſt Voyage 1499.

In the next year Alonſo de Ojeda, having on board that not very creditable perſonage, Amerigo Veſpucci, aided by the knowledge of the Admiral's route, made ſomewhat of the ſame voyage as Columbus. Ojeda, however, touched on a more ſoutherly point than Columbus, ſomewhere, it is conjectured, on the coaſt of Surinam, and from thence went northwards to the gulf of Paria; after that, to Venezuela, which he named from the ſimilarity of the place and the buildings to Venice.* The furtheſt point weſtward of this voyage was the Cape de la Vela.

Veſpucci's account.

Veſpucci's account of the natives is curious and intereſting,† and his narrative ſpreading over Europe was the

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* "Las caſas fundadas artificioſamente en el agua ſobre eſtacas "hincadas en el fondo y comunicándoſe de unas á otras con "canoas."—NAVARRETE, *Col. de Viages*, vol. 3, p. 8.

† His account of their medical ways deſerves to be recorded. "Obſervamos frecuentemente que cuando alguno de ellos tenia "calentura, en el punto y hora en que la fiebre lo atormentaba "con mas rigor, lo metian en un baño de agua muy fria, y deſ-

cauſe of his name being given to the third part of the habitable globe. It would be a curious queſtion to inveſtigate whether lies and falſe rumours have had more practical effect in the affairs of the world than abſolute facts. It is worthy of note that Ojeda encountered an Engliſh veſſel in this voyage.

Voyage of Rodrigo de Baſtidas.

There was alſo a voyage made to theſe parts by Rodrigo de Baſtidas, with Juan de la Coſa for pilot, which was ſucceſsful; and we have Las Caſas's authority for ſaying that Baſtidas was a humane man towards the Indians. Indeed he afterwards loſt his life by this humanity; for when Governor of Santa Martha, not conſenting to haraſs the Indians, he ſo alienated his men, that a conſpiracy was formed againſt him and he was murdered in his bed. Vaſco Nuñez was in this expedition; and the knowledge he gained there became the main cauſe of the fortunes and misfortunes of his varied and eventful life.

" pues por eſpacio de dos horas le obligaban á correr y dar
" muchas vueltas al rededor de una gran lumbre haſta que llegaba
" á calentarſe eſtraordinariamente, y entónces le llevaban al lecho
" para que durmieſe; con cuya medicina vimos ſanar á muchos.
" Uſan tambien muy frecuentemente de la dieta, tan rigoroſa que
" eſtan ſin comer ni beber coſa alguna por eſpacio de tres y cuatro
" dias."—Nav. vol. 3, p. 215.

Paſſing over the other voyages which were made to the Terra Firma, as not immediately relevant to our purpoſe, we come now to the complicated but important events which belong to the contemporaneous expeditions of Ojeda and Nicueſa, from which there enſued a conſiſtent courſe of diſcovery and colonization, leading to the greateſt reſults.

The important expedition of Ojeda and Nicueſa.

The expeditions of Nicueſa and Ojeda were interwoven together in a curious manner. It is probable that during the ſhort regency of the Archduke Philip,* and while Ferdinand was at Naples, enterprize towards the New World languiſhed, and thus, on the death of Philip and the return of the old king to the government of Caſtile, enterprizes, which had their origin at the court of Spain, were naturally brought forward at the ſame time.

The characters of the two commanders were entirely diſſimilar. Ojeda was a ſtrong, daring, devout, common ſoldier, of great perſonal endurance and reſolution, but with no power of managing other men. That remarkable feat of his in early life, performed in the preſence of

* The ſon of the Emperor Maximilian, and the father of Charles the Fifth. He had married Juana, the daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella.

Queen Iſabella—walking ſwiftly out upon a plank from the top of the Giralda at Seville and back again—was typical of what he could do.* His perſonal ſtrength was immenſe; placing himſelf at the bottom of the Giralda, he could throw an orange to the top, a height of two hundred and fifty feet. His connexions in Spain were powerful; he had a firſt couſin of the ſame name, one of the inquiſitors and a favourite of Ferdinand and Iſabella; and he himſelf had been brought up in the family of the Duke of Medina Celi, where it is probable Columbus firſt met with him, and induced him to accompany him in his ſecond voyage. Under ſuch a commander as Columbus, Ojeda was moſt ſerviceable, as was ſeen, for inſtance, in his romantic capture of Caonabó; but when in command himſelf, he ſeems to have been but a poor creature, for thews and ſinews are not the things by which men are long governed, even the rudeſt.

Nicueſa, on the other hand, was a courtly perſon, a good ſpeaker, a good muſician. He

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* "Se ſubió en el madero que ſale veinte pies fuera de la torre, "y lo midió por ſus pies aprieſa come ſi fuera por un ladrillado, "y deſpues al cabo del madero ſacó el un pie en vago dando la vu- "elta, y con la miſma prieſa ſe tornó a la torre."—Las Casas, *Hiſt. Gen. de Ind.* lib. 1, c. 82.

came to Hiſpaniola with Ovando, acquired wealth there, and was deputed by the coloniſts to go to the court of Spain to ſolicit that their Indians ſhould be given to them for one life, and that thus they might be ſo far independent of the caprices of the governor for the time being. This important conceſſion he obtained for them, and it is a ſtep in the hiſtory of *encomiendas*. At the ſame time he procured for himſelf the government of Veragua. As this province had been diſcovered by Columbus, ſuch a grant of its government muſt have been very offenſive to his ſon, the preſent governor of the Indies.

Ojeda, who was favoured by the Biſhop of Burgos, obtained at the ſame time the appointment to the government of the province of Urabá, adjacent to Veragua. Ojeda was poor, his previous voyages having been of little or no profit to him, but he was aided in furniſhing his preſent expedition by the celebrated pilot, Juan de la Coſa, and by a lawyer named Martin Fernandez d'Enciſo, whom Ojeda at once appointed alcalde in his province, which received the name of Nueva Andalucia.

Nicueſa, as the richer perſonage, had the larger fleet and more men; but he, too, went far be-

yond his means in fitting out his fleet, and came thereby into great embarraſſments.

Both theſe commanders arrived at St. Domingo, which was to be their ſtarting-point, at the ſame time; and, as was natural, began to quarrel about the limits of their reſpective governments. Finally, however, Juan de la Coſa perſuaded the two governors to accept the river Darien as the boundary line between their two provinces. The province of Urabá was to extend from the river Darien eaſtward to Cape de la Vela; the province of Veragua from the river Darien weſtward to Cape Gracias à Dios. The latter province was called Caſtilla del Oro, which name it gained from the flattering accounts that Columbus had given of it.

Rodrigo de Colmenares ſays that the agreement made with both theſe governors by the authorities in Spain, was not fulfilled in St. Domingo by the admiral and his officers. Nicueſa and Ojeda were to have been allowed to be accompanied by four hundred of the inhabitants of Hiſpaniola, who ſhould have Indians, of whom they were not to be deprived for four years; theſe would have been the rich men of the colony, and would have brought proviſions; but, this privilege being denied to Ojeda and Nicueſa by

the admiral, they were obliged to take poor people. Alſo they were to have had Jamaica as a place where there were proviſions that would be needful for them; but this alſo was denied by the admiral.*

Ojeda was the firſt to ſail for his province. He left the port of St. Domingo on the tenth or twelfth of November, 1509, with two ſhips, two brigantines, three hundred men, and twelve mares. As horſes and dogs played ſuch an important part in the wars of the Spaniards againſt the Indians, theſe animals well deſerve to be named in the enumeration of any forces.

Ojeda ſails from Hiſpaniola for the Terra Firma.

Nicueſa's departure was delayed by the difficulty he had in providing for his debts. It is probable that the admiral's well-known enmity towards him, as to one who was unjuſtly about to reap the fruits of his father's diſcovery, increaſed the difficulty. Even when Nicueſa's veſſels had ſtarted, and he himſelf was juſt going to embark, or indeed had embarked (for, to the beſt of Las Caſas's recollection, who was an eye-witneſs, Nicueſa was taken out of his boat,) he was arreſted for five hundred caſtellanos. If Nicueſa could

* See Memorial of Colmenares. NAV. *Col. de Viages*, vol. 3, p. 387.

but have known from what evils this hard creditor was, unconſciouſly, endeavouring to ſave him, he would have gone to priſon with a merry heart. But, indeed, even a little of the knowledge of the ſeer would often make us reſign ourſelves to misfortunes without much ſtruggling, accounting them as bleſſings in diſguiſe, or as at leaſt the ſmalleſt evils in a long ſeries. Some friendly notary came forward and paid this debt for Nicueſa, who was thus enabled to ſtart at laſt, about ten days after Ojeda.

Nicueſa's Departure.

Meanwhile Ojeda, who no doubt was delighted at having got the ſtart of Nicueſa, had not profited much by this precedence. In four or five days he reached the port of Carthagena. Having received permiſſion from thoſe who had the management of Indian affairs in Spain to make war upon the Indians, he began at once to avail himſelf of it. The grounds of this permiſſion were very ſlight and queſtionable. The Indians had, on ſome occaſions, reſiſted the violence of the Spaniards, or ſhown an unwillingneſs to let them land, and therefore they were to be accounted enemies. Ojeda, it is ſaid, diſregarded the advice of Juan de la Coſa, the ſecond in command, who wiſhed him not to enter the country at Carthagena, where the Indians were not friendly,

and where they uſed poiſoned arrows, but to paſs on at once to the Gulf of Urabá, and found his ſettlement there. But to this Ojeda would not liſten, and taking Juan de la Coſa with him he made an attack upon a town called Calemar, where he captured ſeventy Indians, and ſent them to his ſhips. He then marched upon a large Indian town called Turbaco, which he found deſerted. He purſued the fugitive Indians, and, while doing ſo, his men ſpread themſelves over the country in a diſorderly manner. The Indians, ſeeing this diſorder, collected together and came down ſuddenly upon the Spaniards, who in their turn had to become the fugitives, and to take refuge in a fort conſtructed haſtily of paliſades. The Indians gave the Spaniards no reſt, and preſſed the advantage they had gained with ſo much vigour, that they ſucceeded in putting all the Spaniards to death, with the exception of Ojeda and one other. It was by an impetuous ſally that Ojeda ſaved himſelf; and his ſmallneſs of ſtature was of good ſervice to him on this day, for he was thus enabled to ſhelter himſelf well behind his ſhield. All the reſt of the Spaniards, to the number of ſeventy or a hundred, periſhed.

Ojeda's firſt exploit.

The luckleſs commander fled to the woods: meanwhile his fleet, ignorant of what had be-

fallen their chief, was quietly coaſting along. At laſt, however, gaining intelligence of what had happened, his men went to ſeek him, and they found him almoſt ſpeechleſs with hunger, his ſword in his hand, and the marks, it is ſaid, of three hundred arrows in his ſhield. They made a fire, and warmed and fed him. As he recovered, and while he was narrating his adventures to his men, Nicueſa's fleet hove in ſight. The conteſt between theſe two governors, while they were at St. Domingo, having been carried on in the moſt offenſive and perſonal manner, Ojeda might well expect ill-treatment from Nicueſa, or at leaſt contempt: and ſo Ojeda begged his men to return to the ſhips, to leave him where he was, alone, and to ſay nothing about him while Nicueſa was on that coaſt.

Ojeda's men did not act exactly in accordance with their inſtructions. They told Nicueſa how Ojeda and his party, having deſtroyed Calamar, had then entered the country, but had not been heard of ſince; that they, however, the remainder of the force, were determined to do their duty by their commander; that they would go and ſeek for him, and would bring him, if Nicueſa would aſſure them that he would not look at what had occurred between Ojeda and himſelf in times paſt.

Nicueſa was angry at their even imagining that he could take advantage of his preſent ſuperiority to puniſh former affronts, and he aſſured them that he would be a brother to Ojeda; on which they produced their commander, whom Nicueſa received moſt kindly.

Nicueſa and Ojeda attack the Indians.

The friendſhip of the Spaniards boded no good to the Indians. The two governors joined company, and went with four hundred men to ſeek for Juan de la Coſa, and to chaſtiſe the Indians. By public proclamation the Spaniſh commanders forbade that any quarter ſhould be given to the Indians; and, falling upon Turbaco, they committed incredible ſlaughter, burning the Indians in their cottages, and ſlaying men, women, and children. To ſhow the terror the horſes inſpired, it is mentioned that the Indian women, when about to fly from the burning huts, ruſhed back into the flames at the ſight of thoſe terrible quadrupeds.

The Spaniards ſucceeded in finding the body of Juan de la Coſa, and it was a horrible ſight, on account of the poiſon in the arrows, which had been the cauſe of his death. This ſight appears to have daunted his countrymen, who forthwith returned to their ſhips.

Ojeda now took leave of Nicueſa, and made

his way to the Gulf of Urabá, capturing Indians in the courſe of this voyage. Entering the gulf, he endeavoured to find the river Darien, which had been agreed upon by the two governors as the boundary of their reſpective territories. This river he could not diſcover, but he diſembarked on the eaſtern ſide of the gulf, and founded a town on a height, calling it San Sebaſtian. This was the third town founded upon the Terra Firma, the firſt having been the one which the old admiral, Columbus, began to found in Veragua, and the ſecond that of Vera Cruz, which Ojeda himſelf had founded during a former voyage in Bahia-honda. Neither of theſe towns was now in exiſtence.

Ojeda founds San Sebaſtian.

Ojeda ſent his ſtolen gold and Indians home to Saint Domingo, in order that more men and ſupplies might in return be diſpatched to him: and he inaugurated the building of his new town by a foray into the territories of a neighbouring Indian chief, who was reported to poſſeſs much gold. This foray, however, produced nothing for Ojeda, and his men were ſoon driven back by clouds of poiſonous arrows.

How their people ſhould be fed, ſeems always to have been with theſe marauding governors a ſecondary conſideration; and, indeed, at all times

it appears as if gold were ſuppoſed to be meat, drink and clothing, the knowledge of what it is in civilized communities creating a fixed idea of its univerſal power, which people are not able to diveſt themſelves of. Famine now began to make itſelf felt at San Sebaſtian. Juſt, however, at this point of time a ſupply from a moſt appropriate quarter came ſuddenly to the aid of the hungry inhabitants of the new town. There came in ſight a veſſel commanded by a certain rogue, called Bernardino de Talavera, which he had ſtolen from the Genoeſe and ſteered towards the new ſettlements, as being a place where the title to any poſſeſſions would not be too curiouſly looked into. The ſupplies which this veſſel brought were purchaſed by Ojeda, and ſerved to relieve for the moment his famiſhing colony. But their neceſſities ſoon recommenced, and with their neceſſities their murmurings. The Indians, alſo, haraſſed them by perpetual attacks, for the fame of Ojeda's deeds was rife in the land, and the natives were naturally very unwilling to have ſuch a neighbour near them. The Spaniſh commander did what he could to ſoothe his people, by telling them that Enciſo, the partner in his expedition and his alcalde, was coming; and, as for the Indians, Ojeda repelled their attacks with

his uſual intrepidity. His Indian enemies, however, began to underſtand the character of the man they had to deal with, and, reſolving to play upon his perſonal bravery, which amounted to foolhardineſs, they laid an ambuſcade for him. The Indians then feigning an attack, Ojeda ruſhed out with his wonted impetuoſity till he came within reach of their ambuſcade, which concealed four bowmen. Theſe diſcharging their poiſoned arrows, one of them paſſed through his thigh; and this was the firſt time, ſtrange to ſay, in his adventurous and riſkful life, that he had been wounded. No veteran, however, could have ſhown more indifference to pain in the remedy which he inſiſted upon adopting. He ordered two plates of iron brought to a white heat to be tied on to the thigh, threatening the reluctant ſurgeon to hang him if he did not apply this remedy. It was ſo ſevere that it not only burnt up the leg and the thigh, but the heat penetrated his whole body, ſo that it became neceſſary to expend a pipe of vinegar in moiſtening the bandages which were afterwards applied. All this torture Ojeda endured without being bound. Would that this terrible energy and power of endurance had been given to a career more worthy of them!

Ojeda wounded.

The ſupplies brought by Talavera being now

conſumed, Ojeda's company began to feel again the preſſure of famine, and to murmur accordingly. They alſo took counſel amongſt themſelves about ſeizing furtively the brigantines and returning to Hiſpaniola, for they diſbelieved, or affected to diſbelieve, that Enciſo was coming at all. Ojeda reſolved to anticipate their deſigns, and, in theſe ſtraits, to return himſelf to Hiſpaniola, leaving Franciſco Pizarro, a name now firſt appearing in hiſtory, as his ſecond in command.

Before parting from his people, Ojeda made this agreement with them, that if within fifty days he did not return, they might then diſpeople the ſettlement, and go where they liked in the two brigantines. This being agreed, the wounded commander, with a few attendants, embarked in Talavera's veſſel.

Ojeda quits San Sebaſtian.

Whether Bernardino de Talavera and his crew were not able to manage their ſtolen craft, or that they met with very bad weather, the reſult was, that they could not make the iſland Hiſpaniola, but were thrown on the coaſt of Cuba, in the port of Xagua. During the voyage the moſt violent feud broke out between Ojeda and his fellow-paſſengers. It ſeems as if their intereſts were not likely to coincide at all; for theſe marauders, who had ſtolen their veſſel from ſome

port in Hiſpaniola, would hardly be anxious to come within ſight of that iſland to which Ojeda's courſe was anxiouſly bent. Whatever may have been the cauſe of the quarrel, it went to ſuch lengths that Talavera and his ruffians, who were much the ſtronger party, put Ojeda in chains. In this way they travelled together, after they were wrecked, towards the eaſtern part of Cuba, the brave Ojeda being freed from his chains whenever his companions feared an attack from the Indians. He, though outnumbered, did not loſe his accuſtomed daring, heaping reproaches upon his companions, and ſaying he would try and kill them all, if he only had them to fight with, two by two. The greateſt danger, however, which theſe Spaniards had to encounter, as they made their way along the coaſt, was, not from the Indians, but from a horrible ſwamp in which they floundered on day after day; the ſwamp extending as they marched along, and they, poor ſhipwrecked men, being with wet clothes, wet proviſions, now ſunk up to the armpits, now diſappearing altogether in the mud.

Ojeda's courage had never failed him: his devotion was now to be made manifeſt. In his wallet he ever carried an image of the Virgin Mary, the preſent of his patron, Biſhop Fonſeca,

which he reverenced much, "for he was always "a very devout ſervant of the Mother of God" (*porque ſiempre fue muy devoto ſervidor de la Madre de Dios*). When they reſted on any ſpot where the mangrove trees, which love ſuch ſwamps, were above the waters, Ojeda was wont to hang up his image on a bough, paying adoration to it himſelf, and exhorting the reſt to do the like. So they journeyed through this dreadful ſwamp for a whole month; and not till they had left half their company buried in it, did they arrive at an Indian town on the firm ground, called Cueyba, a wretched band, almoſt dead with fatigue. The good Indians of Cueyba fed the Spaniards, waſhed them, and ſuccoured them in every way. There Ojeda left his image, having vowed to do ſo at the firſt Indian town he ſhould come to. He alſo perſuaded the Cacique to build an oratory for the image, and endeavoured to explain to him what it meant. This would have been a lecture on theology which one would like to have attended.

Ojeda's devotion.

The friendly Indians furniſhed the Spaniards with guides into the province of Macaca: from thence, remembering that there were Spaniards in Jamaica, they ſent Diego Ordaz in a canoe to

inform their fellow-countrymen of their fate. Ordaz reached Jamaica ſafely; and, upon hearing his ſtory, Juan de Eſquivel, the Governor of Jamaica, ſent a veſſel for Ojeda and his companions. The captain deputed to receive Ojeda was Pamphilo de Narvaez, who, when Ojeda's canoe reached the veſſel, thus courteouſly addreſſed him, "Senor Ojeda, will your worſhip pleaſe to come hither; we have to take you on board;" but Ojeda, as if conſcious that honour ſcarcely belonged to the unfortunate, ſadly replied with a proverb expreſſive of his ill-fortune, *Mi remo no rema*,—"my oar rows not." Narvaez, however, received Ojeda with all honour, and conducted him to Juan de Eſquivel at Jamaica. This was the governor upon whoſe appointment Ojeda, much enraged that Jamaica had not been aſſigned to Nicueſa and himſelf for their proviſion grounds, had ſaid that, if he went to Jamaica, he would cut off the governor's head: but Juan de Eſquivel, quite putting aſide all remembrance of theſe threats, received Ojeda very kindly, and tranſmitted him to St. Domingo. As for Bernardino de Talavera and his confederates, they fell into the clutches of the law on account of their act of piracy; but no notice was taken of any

thing that they did to Ojeda; and he made no ſtir about it himſelf, for, as Las Caſas ſays, Ojeda was not the man to accuſe them (*no era hombre Hojeda que los acuſaria*).

The fifty days agreed upon by Ojeda and his men as the term of their ſtay at San Sebaſtian, had doubtleſs expired before he reached Hiſpaniola; and, even if they had not, the pennileſs Ojeda would not the leſs have been unable to fulfil his part of the contract. It appears that he lived for ſome time afterwards at St. Domingo, and the only thing we hear of him is the characteriſtic one of his narrowly eſcaping aſſaſſination by his activity. He never regained power or influence; and this man, who had been engaged from the firſt diſcovery of the New World in ſo many enterprizes, and who was Governor of Urabá, died in the extreme of poverty. He was buried juſt paſt the threſhold of the church in the monaſtery of St. Franciſco, perhaps from a wiſh of his own that the multitude of paſſers-by might walk upon his tomb. He was a type of many men of that time, who, like himſelf, were reckleſs, valiant, devout, adventurous. So much does one love bravery, even of the coarſeſt kind, that many will echo the pious wiſh of Las Caſas, that before his death it may have pleaſed God to bleſs Ojeda

Ojeda dies.

with the knowledge of his ſins, and with repentance for his dealings with the Indians.*

Ojeda's men abandon San Sebaſtian.

The narrative now returns to Ojeda's men, who had been left at San Sebaſtian, in the Gulf of Urabá. When the fifty days had expired, and there were no ſigns of their commander, who, indeed, at that moment was plunging through the diſmal ſwamp upon the coaſt of Cuba, they reſolved to diſpeople the ſettlement and to ſail away. But, as the two brigantines would not hold them all, they were obliged to wait until hunger and the aſſaults of the Indians had reduced them to the proper number. Then they killed and ſalted the horſes that were left, and, having thus provided themſelves with ſome food for the voyage, they embarked, Pizarro commanding one of the brigantines and a man named Valenzuela the other. Their ſojourn at San Sebaſtian had laſted ſix months.

When they were twenty leagues from the ſhore, Valenzuela's brigantine, ſtruck, as it was imagined, by ſome large fiſh, went down ſuddenly. Pizarro made for the port of Carthagena, and, as

* "Plega o haya placido á Dios de haberle dado conoſcimiento "antes de la muerte de haber ſido pecador los malos que hizo á "Indios."—Las Casas, tom. 2, c. 61.

he entered, he ſaw a ſhip and a brigantine coming in at the ſame time. Theſe proved to contain the men and the ſupplies brought at laſt by the Bachiller Enciſo, Ojeda's alcalde mayor. Theſe conſiſted of one hundred and fifty men, with ſeveral horſes, and with arms, powder, and proviſions. A curious incident, fraught with great reſults, had occurred early in Enciſo's voyage. In the midſt of his cargo, unknown to its owner, was a barrel containing no proviſions, but a living man, of whom much will hereafter have to be ſaid. His name was Vaſco Nuñez de Balboa, an adventurer, a ſkilful maſter of the art of fencing (for ſo Peter Martyr's word, *digladiator*, has been rendered), who, as he was in debt, and as indebted people might not leave the iſland of Hiſpaniola without the permiſſion of the authorities, had ſecretly contrived to get into this barrel and to form part of Enciſo's ſtores. When the veſſel had got out to ſea, Vaſco Nuñez made his appearance, much to the diſſatisfaction of Enciſo, a preciſe lawyer, who muſt thoroughly have objected to aid in any breach of the law. He threatened to put Vaſco Nuñez on a deſert iſland, but ſuffered himſelf to be pacified at laſt. To thoſe who know the part that Vaſco Nuñez is about to play, it almoſt ſeems as if the ſtory of

Enciſo comes with men and ſupplies.

the fiſherman who freed the troubleſome genie from his durance in a bottle, was about to be acted over again.

On the meeting of the remnant of Ojeda's company under Pizarro's command, with that of the reinforcements brought by the Bachiller Enciſo, the latter at once concluded that theſe people had fled away from their duty and had deſerted Ojeda. Indeed, Enciſo was ſo convinced of this, that he was inclined to put them into confinement, and at firſt would give no credit to the ſtory they told him. Their famiſhed appearance, however, was an undeniable witneſs in their favour, and at laſt they ſucceeded in convincing the Bachiller of the truth of what they were ſaying; and then, naturally enough, they did all they could to diſſuade him from proceeding to San Sebaſtian: but he, full of his lawyer-like notions that he muſt do what he had contracted to do (and he is to be honoured for this), reſolved to go on to Urabá; and, partly perſuading them with a hope of plunder, partly inſiſting upon their obedience, he contrived to carry them along with him.

Enciſo goes to Urabá.

Enciſo, with his veſſels in good trim, ſailed out from Carthagena to purſue his way to Urabá; but, unfortunately, juſt as he neared land, from

ſome overſight on the part of the man at the helm, his veſſel was thrown upon a rock, and in a very ſhort time beaten to pieces. The men with difficulty ſaved themſelves in the boat and the brigantine, but all the cattle and almoſt all the proviſions were loſt; and when Enciſo and his men made their way to San Sebaſtian, they found the fortreſs entirely deſtroyed. Their ſituation was manifeſtly moſt perilous. For ſome time they managed to ſubſiſt upon wild animals caught in the mountains and upon the buds of the palm-tree; but this precarious ſupply ſoon came to an end, and then it was neceſſary to obtain food by force.

The Indians here, however, as Ojeda had found before, were moſt formidable opponents. It is mentioned that three naked Indians with poiſoned arrows pierced as many Spaniards as they had arrows for, and then fled like the wind.

We may eaſily imagine how the deſire to return now grew upon the men, and how Pizarro and the remnant of Ojeda's people clamoured at their advice and entreaties not having been liſtened to. While the hearts of all men in this little colony were thus down-ſtricken, and their purpoſes confuſed, each man giving or liſtening to advice (*oyendo cada uno a cada cual ſu ſentencia*),

Vaſco Nuñez ſpoke out. He ſaid that he recollected, when he was with Baſtidas, entering this gulf of Urabá, and that they diſembarked in the weſtern part of it, and found there an Indian town near a great river in the midſt of a fertile country. He alſo ſaid, which was moſt to the preſent purpoſe, that the Indians in thoſe parts did not uſe poiſoned arrows. How deeply one regrets that this knowledge of poiſoned arrows did not overſpread the continent, for, as every reader of the Iliad is always on the Trojan ſide, ſo it is impoſſible in reading this conqueſt of the New World, not to wiſh for the weaker party, or at leaſt not to regret that their weapons were for the moſt part ſo lamentably unequal to thoſe of their invaders.

This river, that Vaſco Nuñez ſpoke of, turned out to be the river Darien. His advice was inſtantly liſtened to; and the Bachiller Enciſo, taking with him Vaſco Nuñez and a hundred men, ſet out to find the Indian town. They ſucceeded in finding it, but the Indians, who had heard of their doings in other parts, were not inclined to receive them amicably: and five hundred men, the women and children being ſent away, had taken up a poſition on a hill, waiting the orders of Cemaco, their Cacique, for battle.

This being a critical period in the fortunes of

the new colony, the Spaniards then preſent knelt down devoutly, and made a vow, that, if victorious, they would dedicate their firſt church and ſettlement to Santa Maria de la Antigua, alluding to an image ſo called in Seville, which was much reverenced by all the citizens there; and they alſo vowed that they would ſend a pilgrimage with jewels to her ſhrine at Seville. The Bachiller, moreover, in a pedantic way, as it ſeems to me, made all his men take an oath, that they would not turn their backs on the enemy. When the fight commenced, Vaſco Nuñez proved to be right in his report of theſe Indians having no poiſon to their arrows, who accordingly, with their puny weapons, made no reſiſtance worthy of the name to the blows with ſword and lance dealt by the Spaniards. Thoſe Indians, who were not killed, fled at once, leaving to the Spaniards an eaſy victory, who might, I ſuſpect, have ſaved themſelves the jewels which they had promiſed to ſend to Santa Maria de la Antigua.

Enciſo's battle with the Indians.

There is a different verſion of this ſtory, mentioned alſo by Las Caſas. It is ſaid that the Indians received Enciſo and his party well, and gave them gold; but that upon their demand to know where this gold came from, the Cacique, counſelled by his elders, would not tell them for

fear they ſhould ſettle in thoſe parts; that they then applied the torture to him, when he confeſſed where the gold was to be found, but afterwards, collecting his forces, reſolved to attack them.

Whichever ſtory is right, it is certain that Enciſo had this ſkirmiſh with the natives of Darien, in which his forces were victorious. Afterwards he entered the Indian town where he found a ſtore of proviſions; and, purſuing his reſearches, he diſcovered in a cane brake the houſehold gods of the Indians, among which were golden breaſt-plates and golden chains. Sending for the reſt of his people from San Sebaſtian, he founded the town of Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien.

Enciſo founds the town of Darien.

But a far harder taſk than building a town had to be attempted by the Bachiller Enciſo: he had to rule a number of diſcontented, diſappointed men, and it does not ſeem that he poſſeſſed any peculiar talents for that difficult enterpriſe. They had now, too, a good pretext for refuſing obedience to his authority; they ſaid that he had no power over them, as they were not in Ojeda's territory, but in that of Nicueſa, which was true. Such a pretext would never have diſtreſſed a real commander, but it was of ſufficient force againſt the Bachiller Enciſo. It appears he had given great offence by iſſuing a peremptory mandate that no

one on pain of death ſhould traffic with the Indians for gold. Vaſco Nuñez was, no doubt, at the head of the malcontents, and he is ſaid to have complained bitterly of the injuſtice of the Bachiller, declaring that he had nothing but the name of an educated man, but was in reality a moſt cunning fox.* The men, reſolving to depoſe Enciſo, proceeded to an election of their officers, and, in ſtraits like theſe, a good choice is nearly ſure to be made. They choſe Vaſco Nuñez and a man named Zamudio for their alcaldes, and a perſon of the name of Valdivia for regidor: but even this election was not deciſive in the minds of theſe unfortunate coloniſts. There ſtill remained three factions; one in favour of Vaſco Nuñez, another for Enciſo, and a third for Nicueſa.

The men depoſe Enciſo.

An accident determined the matter in favour of Nicueſa. He had left behind him in Hiſpaniola, as his lieutenant, a man named Rodrigo de Colmenares, who was to follow him with ſtores and proviſions. Colmenares met with great hinderance from the authorities in Hiſpaniola, and it was not

* "Nec ſe Baccalaureo pariturum, qui in jure dicendo privato "magis quæſtui quam communi omnium utilitati conſuleret, ni- "hilque præter litterati nomen haberet, reipſa vulpem aſtutiſſimam "referens."—BENZONI, *Hiſt. Nov. Orbis*, lib. 1.

until ten months after his chief had ſailed, that he was able to follow him. The firſt point he had touched upon in the Terra Firma was near the Sierra Nevada in the province of Santa Martha. From thence he had proceeded weſtward, along the coaſt in ſearch of Nicueſa, making ſmoke-ſignals on the ſhore and firing off guns, which were at laſt heard by Enciſo's men, who, returning the ſignals, brought Colmenares to them. He arrived in November 1510.

The proviſions which Colmenares brought in his ſhips were powerful arguments in favour of Nicueſa; the recollection of his pleaſant manners and of his kindneſs to their late commander Ojeda muſt have told in his favour; and, in fine, the greater part of Enciſo's company joined in ſending Colmenares to Nicueſa to aſk him to come and take the command of them.

Ojeda's men chooſe Nicueſa for their chief.

It is neceſſary now to turn back to Nicueſa, and to aſcertain what has become of him, while Enciſo has been depoſed. This narrative is exceedingly tangled, but unavoidably ſo; if events would have happened more neatly, they would have been more pleaſant and eaſy to relate. But they obſtinately perſiſt in being very confuſed.

Nicueſa left the port of Carthagena ſoon after

Ojeda had quitted it, and bent his courſe at once to his province of Veragua. Lope de Olano, of whoſe previous life we only know that he was concerned in the revolt of Roldan againſt Columbus, was Nicueſa's captain-general. Their mode of ſailing was this. Nicueſa went in a caravel attended by the two brigantines, in one of which was Lope de Olano. Nicueſa's caravel and the brigantines kept cloſe to the ſhore: the two large ſhips ſtood out more to ſea, as was requiſite. They all were to ſail weſtward, making their way to Veragua. Soon after quitting Carthagena, the weather became very contrary; and one ſtormy night, Nicueſa, to avoid danger near the coaſt, put out to ſea, and in the courſe of that night parted company with all the other veſſels.

Nicueſa parts from his fleet.

On the morning neither the brigantines nor the other two veſſels were to be ſeen. Nicueſa was in great tribulation, thinking that his fleet was loſt. He returned to the coaſt, and went up a river of which the name is not given. There the tide, flowing out with great rapidity unperceived by the ſhip's crew, left him on a ſand-bank; the caravel inſtantly fell on its ſide and began to come to pieces, and he and his company were only ſaved by the boldneſs of one of them who contrived to faſten a rope to a tree by which,

as on a bridge, the men made their way to land, but all the ſtores, proviſions and clothes were loſt.

One thing, however, of value remained to them, the boat. In that Nicueſa put four ſeamen, and ordered them to coaſt along to the weſt, keeping near him, while he and the reſt made their way by land. Their journey was a terrible one; half naked and without ſhoes they croſſed ſwamps and made their way amidſt an unknown and untraverſed country. Neither were they free from fear of hoſtile Indians, for one morning a page of Nicueſa's who was conſpicuous from wearing a white *ſombrero*, and whom probably the Indians took for the chieftain of the Spaniards, was ſhot dead by an arrow, to the great ſorrow of his maſter. Thus they proceeded for ſome days, when, on one occaſion, imagining that they could ſave much diſtance by going all of them in the boat from one promontory to another, where the land made a great curve inwards,* they did ſo, uſing the boat by turns, and all of them got ſafely to this headland, which proved, however, not to be part of the coaſt, but of a deſert iſland, where there was not even freſh water. The only thing

* I conjecture this to have been the Boca del Toro beyond the iſland Eſcudo de Veragua.

like it was a pool here and there of muddy ſwamp.

Nicueſa on a deſert iſland.

The four ſeamen, who managed the boat, made off with it one night, very likely the night after they had made the diſcovery that this was an iſland; and Nicueſa and his men were left to endure the extreme of ſuffering. Some of the men went mad with miſery. Like the beaſts of the field they fed on all fours on herbage of all kinds, but ignorant, as the beaſts are not, of which herbage was good and which was noxious.

Leaving Nicueſa and his men in this deplorable ſtate, we have to return to his ſecond in command, Lope de Olano, and to his proceedings on the morning after the ſtorm in which Nicueſa parted company from his fleet. I cannot perceive that Lope de Olano, though, perhaps, a very zealous officer in his maſter's behalf might have done more, was much to blame in what he did on this occaſion. Meeting with the other brigantine which Pedro de Umbria commanded, they took counſel, and, concluding that Nicueſa would be ſure to make his way to Veragua, they reſolved to hold on their courſe in that direction. They found the other veſſels in the river Chagre which was then called the river of lizards, a name it had received from Columbus. It was then, I imagine, that Lope de Olano, finding that the great veſſels

had no tidings of the caravel, ſaid that their commander was loſt (which, perhaps, Olano really thought); and by general conſent he took the command of the expedition. But the expedition was no longer in a hopeful ſtate. The ſhips had ſuffered greatly from a worm which was very deſtructive to ſhip timber on that coaſt, and all the proviſions in them had been ſpoiled or loſt. After ſeveral unimportant movements from the river Chagre to the river Belem, and then to the river Veragua, where it appears that Olano endeavoured to found a colony, which endeavour failed, we find him on the ſhore near the river Belem, with the great ſhips knocked to pieces and a caravel formed out of them, with his two brigantines, with no ſtores, no proviſions, and ſeveral of his men dead.

The treachery of the four mariners who left Nicueſa on the deſert iſland proved a fortunate treachery for him. Coaſting along to the eaſtward, they came to the ſpot where Lope de Olano was, and told him of the ill-fortune of Nicueſa, ſaying that they had left without telling their commander, in order to ſave the whole party. Their news of the exiſtence of Nicueſa was probably very unwelcome to Olano, but he ſent a

brigantine to fetch off Nicueſa, and in it what proviſions he could ſpare, being palm-tree buds and ſuch like wretched ſtuff, which was all that they had to eat there.

Nicueſa rejoins his men.

The brigantine ſucceeded in reaching this deſert iſland where Nicueſa was, and brought him off to rejoin his company at the river Belem. The firſt thing he did, on meeting his people, was to command the arreſt of Lope de Olano, and bitterly to reproach his other principal officers with not having made efforts to diſcover him. They humbly implored forgiveneſs. Had they not ſuffered enough, they ſaid; four hundred were already loſt, and they, the reſt, were in a fair way to periſh? But Nicueſa, whoſe good qualities were ſuch as flouriſh only in ſunny ſeaſons, was no longer gracious, but, on the contrary, very ill-conditioned (*mal condicionado*). Here we may ſee the difference between a commander by nature and an accidental one. In all theſe enterprizes the moſt ſtriking thing to notice is the way in which the great commanders endure, not merely hunger and want, but revilings and upbraidings. Columbus, Cortés, Pizarro, Vaſco Nuñez ſhine out in adverſity, and when the ordinary bonds of diſcipline are looſed. And no one, who has not been in adverſity with a body of men, can eſtimate

the meanneſs of men in general in ſuch caſes. It is only the great ſouls who are great throughout. Certainly, Nicueſa did not poſſeſs one of theſe ſouls: and even what he did right, bore the air of caprice and petulance.

Meanwhile the ſtate of things around him grew worſe and worſe, but the ſeverity of his temper did not abate; and his men believed that he abſolutely took delight in impoſing upon them dreadful burdens, when he ſent them into the country to ſee what they could get by force from the Indian villages. To ſuch an extremity were the Spaniards reduced that, on one occaſion, they are ſaid to have been driven by hunger to cannibaliſm.

Nicueſa reſolved to leave a ſpot which had been ſo fatal to him, but, even in doing this, he ſhowed his newly-born harſhneſs. Each of his men, made wiſe by adverſity, had ſown a little bit of maize; and, as in that glowing country, harveſts ripen ſoon, they were expecting in a few days to reap the benefit of their ſowing. They implored him, therefore, to ſtop for theſe few days; but he would not liſten to their entreaties.

Nicueſa quits his ſettlement at Belem.

Taking with him in the caravel and the two brigantines their complement of men, he left the others behind and ſet ſail, directing his courſe to-

wards the eaſt. When they had gone four leagues, one of the ſeamen happened to recollect that a port was hereabouts. He had been with the "Old Admiral," for ſo Columbus was called, when he diſcovered this province of Veragua; and this mariner ſaid that, if he were right, there would be found half-buried in the ſand an anchor, and near it a tree under which there would be a ſpring of freſh water. They went and found the mariner right; and the port proved to be Portobello, ſo named by Columbus. Here they endeavoured to make an entrance into the country, in order to get ſome ſupplies of any kind; but they were ſo weak they could hardly hold their weapons in their hands. The Indians ſucceeded in reſiſting them, and killed twenty. From Portobello they went ſailing towards the eaſt, until they came to another harbour. "In the name of God (*en nombre de Dios*) let us ſtay here," they exclaimed; and "Nombre de Dios" is the name the port has ever ſince retained. What poetry and hiſtory there are in names! Here they contrived to build a little wooden fort, and Nicueſa ſent for the reſt of the men from the river Belem. Since his departure from Belem he had loſt two hundred more men; and now, of the ſeven hundred and eighty five men who came out with

Nicueſa ſtays at Nombre de Dios.

him from Hiſpaniola, there remained, when he had built this little fort in December 1510, only about a hundred men. Having finiſhed this fort, he commenced his attacks upon the Indians, but the proviſions gained by theſe attacks ſeldom laſted long. Hunger, which had dogged the ſteps of this expedition from the night of that fatal tempeſt and diſperſion, ſtill relentleſsly purſued it. At laſt all the ordinary rules of diſcipline were at an end; and there could not even be found one man in the company ſtrong enough to do the duty of a ſentinel.

It cannot be ſaid, however, that theſe men were utterly neglected by Fortune. They were juſt at this moment in a ſtate of extreme and apparently hopeleſs peril, when Colmenares, purſuing ſteadily his courſe eaſtward, came upon their track and found them. Great was the delight of the ſeventy* men who remained, for their number had now dwindled to ſeventy: and Nicueſa's delight was not the leaſt, when, ſhedding tears, he threw himſelf at the feet of one who brought him preſent ſafety and ſuch good hopes for the future. In-

Colmenares finds Nicueſa.

* It may ſhow the difficulty of making anything like a clear account of theſe events, to find that Colmenares, the man of all others who ſhould have known, makes the numbers left two hundred; all the beſt authorities ſay ſeventy or thereabouts.

deed it was a change of fortune ſuch as is ſeldom ſeen except in fiction. According to Peter Martyr's account, Colmenares found Nicueſa "of all "living men the moſt unfortunate, in a manner "dried up with extreme hunger, filthy and hor-"rible to behold;" and now he was ſummoned to become governor to thoſe who remained of his rival Ojeda's force, and who, unfortunate as they had been, had at any rate made a leſs wretched ſettlement than Nicueſa and his men could boaſt of having done.

But Nicueſa's good ſenſe and good temper were not now to be recovered by any gleam of good fortune. In fact, he ſeems to have acted, or rather to have talked, which is often more dangerous, like a man bereft of common ſenſe.

Nicueſa's folly.

Hearing that Ojeda's company had collected gold, upon which, as, ſtrictly ſpeaking, they were ſettled in the country aſſigned to him, he had ſome claim, he gave out that he ſhould take it away. The diſguſt which the deputies from Darien began at once to conceive for him may be eaſily imagined; nor was this diſguſt likely to be left to wear away by any good words that would be ſaid of him by his own men at Nombre de Dios. Lope de Olano, though in chains, contrived to put in his word, privately telling the new comers

that Nicueſa would do with them as he did with his own people, when they ſent for him from the deſert iſland. Still, had Nicueſa been ſwift in acting upon his good news, he might have anticipated the conſequences of his fooliſh and tyrannous ſayings; but, while he ſent on to Darien a caravel in which there were many of the people who murmured againſt him, he himſelf in the brigantine ſtopped on the way for about a week to reconnoitre ſome little iſlands, and to capture Indians—for which there came a terrible retribution. No ſooner had the people in the caravel reached Darien, than they began to influence the coloniſts there againſt him, inſomuch ſo, that the Darienites became quite mad with themſelves at their folly in having invited Nicueſa. It was as if the frogs in the fable had already foreſeen the conduct of king Stork before he came amongſt them. It may eaſily be imagined, and is generally reported, that Vaſco Nuñez did what he could to incite the people againſt the coming governor; but Vaſco's proceedings were very ſecret, and, it is ſaid, he canvaſſed the principal perſons, man by man, convincing them of their error, and ſhowing them the remedy for it.

When Nicueſa neared the place of diſembarkation, expecting, no doubt, to be received with

what pomp and honour men ſo tattered and buffeted would ſtill endeavour to ſhow their new chief, he found an array of armed men drawn up on the ſhore, looking as if they meant to repel an invaſion rather than to receive a governor. Amongſt them were Vaſco Nuñez and the procurador of the ſettlement; and this latter officer, in a formal manner, proclaimed aloud that Nicueſa ſhould not be permitted to land, but ſhould return to his own ſettlement at Nombre de Dios. At this aſtounding reception Nicueſa for a ſhort time could hardly ſpeak: then he ſaid, "Gentlemen, you yourſelves ſent for me. Let me land, "and we will talk the matter over: you have to "hear me, and I have to hear you; and we have "to underſtand one another. Afterwards do with "me what you will." This ſpeech ſeems to contain ſome of his former graciouſneſs of manner; but they knew him too well now, and ſternly refuſed to have anything to do with him.

Nicueſa rejected by the men of Darien.

It was evening, and he drew off for that night, intending to come the next day, and ſee whether they would change their minds.

The next day, when he appeared, they called him to come to them, meaning to take him priſoner, for, when he landed, they ruſhed upon him, but he fled, and, being remarkably ſwift of

foot, eſcaped from them. Vaſco Nuñez, who had ſome grandeur of ſoul, felt aſhamed of this ſhabby ſcene, and rebuked his company for their ill manners; and Nicueſa, now much fallen, aſked them to take him for a companion if not for a governor, and, if not as a companion, as a priſoner, ſaying that they might put him in chains. But they only mocked him. Vaſco Nuñez did his beſt to make them change their behaviour, and he even inflicted the puniſhment of a hundred ſtripes on one of thoſe who took moſt part againſt Nicueſa; but, ſeeing that he could not reſiſt the whole ſettlement, he ſent privately to Nicueſa, telling him not to truſt himſelf amongſt them unleſs he ſhould ſee him, Vaſco Nuñez, with them. Nicueſa, however, gave no heed to this; for afterwards, when there came a deputation to him, ſaying that they would give him welcome, but that he muſt pardon the rudeneſs of their former reception, he liſtened to them, and placed himſelf in their hands. But no ſooner had they got him into their power than, it is ſaid, they made him ſwear that he would go away and not ſtop until he ſhould appear before the king of Spain and his council. This, I imagine, was meant for mockery. In vain the wretched Nicueſa reminded them that they were in his territory, and proteſted

before God, as he could not before the king, againſt their cruelty in ſending him away ſo ill proviſioned as he was for any voyage. They paid no attention to his entreaties, but turned him adrift in the moſt wretched brigantine that was there.* Hopeleſs of moving his enemies, or indignant at their mockery, Nicueſa ſet ſail from Darien, and was never heard of more. Some ſuppoſe that he periſhed at ſea, others that he either went to, or was driven upon, ſome iſland on the coaſt of Veragua, and was deſtroyed by hunger or by the natives, as it was reported that theſe words were found cut out in the bark of a tree, *Aqui anduvó perdido el deſdichado Diego de Nicueſa* (Here went loſt the unfortunate Diego de Nicueſa); but, even if ſuch an inſcription were ever found, it might have been made at the time of his firſt calamity, when he was left on the deſert iſland. It was on the firſt of March, 1511, that he ſet ſail in his crazy veſſel, and he was accompanied by ſeventeen companions who ſtill remained faithful to him.

Nicueſa periſhes.

* Indeed, Paſcual de Andagoya ſays that the brigantine was caulked with iron, as the wretch who did it told him. "Y aun "decian que calafateado con ferro groſo: eſto al miſmo calafate "que le aderezó ſe lo oí yo."—Pascual de Andagoya, *Relacion.* Nav. *Viages*, t. 3, p. 395.

It is ſad, notwithſtanding their lamentable errors, to ſee how theſe adventurous commanders one after another drop from the ſcene. I ſay their lamentable errors, becauſe, with our modern notions at leaſt, it is impoſſible to regard their conduct towards the Indians as otherwiſe than infamous; but we muſt not let this blind us to any merits they might have had. And certainly their ſad fate, and the fate of thoſe under them, ſeem to be ſome retribution for their ſins towards the Indians.*

Ojeda, as we have ſeen, died in the utmoſt poverty; Nicueſa periſhed either from hunger or ſhipwreck: of the companions whom they brought out with them, full of hope and proud deſigns, only forty-three remained of Nicueſa's men, and thirty or forty of Ojeda's. The men who were now at Darien were thoſe who had come in the reinforcements brought by Enciſo to Ojeda, and by Colmenares to Nicueſa.

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* Vaſco Nuñez, in one of his letters to Charles the Fifth, diſcuſſes the fate of Nicueſa, and attributes it to his tyranny towards his own men, which was, evidently, the proximate cauſe of his deſtruction. Nav. *Viag.* t. 3, p. 360.

CHAPTER II.

Vasco Nuñez discovers the South Sea.

THE facts in hiſtory often form themſelves into groups ſo much reſembling one another that they give the impreſſion of the ſame play acted over and over again, only with a change of names and with new ſcenery. This is eſpecially the caſe in the events I am recounting; and, knowing beforehand the fate that generally awaits the principal actors, it appears to me as if I were but giving new verſions of the ſame ſtory.

The principal intereſt of the narrative is now concentred in Vaſco Nuñez. The valorous Ojeda, the poliſhed Nicueſa, and the flouriſhing lawyer, Enciſo, little dreamt that the conduct of their enterpriſe was to devolve upon a man who ſhould furtively come out in a caſk to evade his creditors. He had, however, moſt of the qualities neceſſary for a great commander in thoſe times. He was clever, crafty, courageous, forward in en-

terpriſe, good-humoured and handſome. I think, too, he had conſiderable nobility of nature; and I am not diſpoſed to lay the whole blame of the rejection of Nicueſa upon Vaſco Nuñez. His conduct to Enciſo is far more queſtionable, and has juſtly laid him open to the accuſation of having kept in mind the threats and reproaches which Enciſo addreſſed to him when he made his unwelcome and undignified appearance from amidſt the cargo of Enciſo's veſſel.

Vaſco Nuñez proſecutes Enciſo.

After Nicueſa's departure, Vaſco Nuñez inſtituted a proceſs againſt the Bachiller, ſaying that he had uſurped a juriſdiction to which he had no claim, as he had received no authority from the king, but only from Ojeda, who was already dead. Upon this poor pretext, Vaſco Nuñez ſequeſtered Enciſo's goods and put him in priſon, but afterwards freed him, upon the underſtanding that he ſhould ſail for Caſtile, or for Hiſpaniola. It ſeems very weak in Vaſco Nuñez to have ſent home a man who, he muſt have known, would be a powerful enemy; but he took care to ſend with Enciſo in the ſame ſhip his own comrades in office, Zamudio and Valdivia: Valdivia, to make the proper repreſentations to Don Diego Columbus and Paſamonte at St. Domingo; Zamudio, to go on to Spain, and there to repreſent to the king the

ſervices which the coloniſts at Darien had rendered to his Highneſs. Valdivia did not go empty-handed.

After the departure of the deputies, ſome Indians happened to come to Darien as ſpies, under the pretext of bringing proviſions; and they told the Spaniards, probably with a view to getting rid of them as neighbours, that there was much gold in Cueva, a province thirty leagues off. Vaſco Nuñez ſent Pizarro with ſix companions to diſcover this province. The Indians under Cemaco, who had been diſpoſſeſſed by the Spaniards, ſet upon theſe ſeven men; but, as theſe Indians did not uſe poiſoned arrows, they were not able to overpower theſe ſeven men, though they wounded them ſeverely; while, on the contrary, even this handful of Spaniards contrived to kill a great many of the natives, before they returned to Vaſco Nuñez. He then, accompanied by a hundred men, made an incurſion into theſe regions; but in the mean time, the Indians had ſought refuge in flight: they did not come near him at all, which, had there been a Fabius to adviſe them, would always have been their ſureſt mode of warfare, and ſo Vaſco Nuñez, finding none to ſubdue or to treat with, returned to Da-

rien. This, therefore, proved a thoroughly fruitleſs enterpriſe; there are ſigns of Vaſco Nuñez having been diſcouraged at this time; and his fate might have been, like that of Nicueſa or Ojeda, to have made petty incurſions, to have thus deprived himſelf of the neighbourhood of the Indians, and eventually to have periſhed from ſtarvation, had it not been for the following curious and lamentable circumſtance about to be related.

Nicueſa not returning to Darien, of which it appears Vaſco Nuñez had for ſome little time an expectation, he ſent for the remnant of Nicueſa's men who were left at Nombre de Dios. As theſe people were on their way to Darien, and were in a port of the province of Cueva, there came to meet them two Spaniards, dreſſed, or rather not dreſſed at all, and painted, as Indians.

Theſe were men who, on ſome occaſion about a year and a half before, had fled from Nicueſa's ſhips to eſcape puniſhment for ſomething they had done, and who, entering the country, had been received kindly by Careta, the Cacique of Cueva. Indeed he had made one of them, named Juan Alonſo, his principal captain. This wretch bade the Spaniards tell Vaſco Nuñez that, if he would come to Careta's town, he, Juan Alonſo, would deliver his maſter, the Cacique, bound, into

Vaſco Nuñez's hands; and he alſo gave the alluring intelligence that there were great riches in that province.

Vaſco Nuñez was delighted at this news, and he prepared at once to act upon it, entering Careta's territory at the head of a hundred and thirty men. Having arrived with his "apoſtles," as Las Caſas calls them, at the Indian town where Careta dwelt, he found the Cacique awaiting his coming. Vaſco Nuñez, conſcious of the treachery he was about to commit, and perhaps not liking to gild it over with fair words, rudely demanded proviſions from the Cacique. The Indian chief replied, that, whenever Chriſtians had paſſed by his home, he had ordered proviſions to be given them liberally, and he would do ſo now; at the ſame time he remarked that he was ſtraitened himſelf, as he was at war with a neighbouring chief, Poncha, and his own people had not been able to ſow as uſual.

Vaſco Nuñez enters Careta's territory.

Juan Alonſo, probably ſpeaking in Spaniſh in preſence of the Cacique, then ſuggeſted to Vaſco Nuñez to pretend to take leave of the chief, and afterwards to come back at night in order to make an attack on the town: he, for his part, would do his beſt to ſecure the perſon of the Cacique. Vaſco Nuñez adopted the ſuggeſtion. He went away, but, returning at night, made his

attack in three diviſions, awakening the ſleeping Indians with the war-cry of "Santiago."

Juan Alonſo, true to his promiſes of treachery, ſecured the perſon of the Cacique; and Vaſco Nuñez thus ſucceeded in carrying him and his family to Darien, and in devaſtating his town.

The good Biſhop of Chiapa,* who is the principal authority for theſe tranſactions, does not fail to introduce a few words of moral diſcourſe, in which he naturally likens Juan Alonſo to Judas, but ſuch proceedings need little comment. However, Careta was not upon this occaſion ill-treated by the Spaniards, when they had him in their power, but, on the contrary, was conciliated and converted into a moſt uſeful ally. He gave his daughter to Vaſco Nuñez, who loved her much; and the Cacique entered into an agreement (here we may trace the wiſdom of the Spaniſh commander) to aid in growing ſupplies for the Spaniards, if they would aid him in carrying on war againſt his enemy Poncha.

This is the way in which an invading force generally makes its footing good in a country, by converting the fooliſh enmities of the natives into ſtepping-ſtones of conqueſt. The above conditions

* Las Caſas.

were agreed upon, and were fulfilled. Careta's Indians prepared their maize crops; and the Spaniards, on their part, united with Careta's men in making an incurſion into Poncha's territory. That Cacique, however, being well-informed of what was going on, fled, and left his territory to be devaſtated by the united forces of Nuñez and Careta.

Thirty leagues from Darien, and adjoining to Careta's territory was a country called Comogra, ſituated on the ſea-coaſt, the Cacique of which country was named Comogre. This chief being brought into friendſhip with the Spaniards by one of Careta's relations, who had taken refuge from his own lord at Comogre's court, Vaſco Nuñez went with his men to viſit Comogre. The Spaniards were much ſurpriſed by the ſigns of comfort and civilization which they found in this Indian chief's dwelling. Indeed, it was the moſt like a palace of any thing that had been ſeen ſince the diſcovery of the Indies.* Its dimenſions

Vaſco Nuñez viſits Comogre.

* "Eſtaba fundada ſobre unos muy grueſos poſteles, cercada "de muro hecho de piedra entretegida madera por lo alto como "zaquizamí, por tan hermoſa arte labrada que los Eſpañoles "quedaron eſpantados de verla, y no ſabian dar á entender ſu "artificio y hermoſura."—LAS CASAS, *Hiſt. de las Indias*, lib. 3, tom. 1, p. 243.

"Laquearibus et pavimentis arte eximiâ laboratis."—PET. MARTYR, dec. 2, lib. 3.

were a hundred and fifty feet in length, eighty in breadth, and eighty in height; the floors and ceiling were exquiſitely wrought; and it contained many apartments, a granary, cellars, and, what perhaps was moſt curious, a room where the bodies of the king's anceſtors were preſerved as mummies.

Comogre gave his Spaniſh viſitors a ſplendid welcome, and preſented them with four thouſand peſos of gold and ſeventy ſlaves. A fifth part of whatever gold was diſcovered, belonged by right to the king of Spain, and it was to watch over his rights, that a *veedor* on the part of the king was appointed. While the Spaniards were weighing out this fifth part of the gold which Comogre had given them, or dividing the reſidue amongſt themſelves, there aroſe, to uſe the expreſſive words of an old tranſlation of Peter Martyr, a "brabbling among "the Spaniards about the dividing of the gold."

Now Comogre had ſeven ſons, of noble appearance and large ſtature; and the eldeſt was a young man of great ſpirit and ability. It would have been well, perhaps, for the whole of South America, if he had not been a man of this kind.

The youth, ſeeing this miſerable contention amongſt the Spaniards, which muſt have appeared ſingularly contemptible in the eyes of an Indian

who would value little the ſubſtance theſe Spaniards were quarrelling about, and who, even for a great thing, would have thought ſuch contention unſeemly and ungentlemanlike, for a noble indifference about moſt earthly things is to be ſeen at the bottom of the Indian character throughout both continents, was diſguſted at this clamour; and, after the faſhion of Brennus, daſhing with his hand the ſcales in which the gold was, and ſcattering it about, he made the following ſpeech.

Comogre's ſon's ſpeech.

" What is this, Chriſtians, is it for ſuch a little " thing that you quarrel ?* If you have ſuch a " love of gold that, to get it, you diſquiet and " haraſs the peaceful nations of theſe lands, and, " ſuffering ſuch labours, baniſh yourſelves from " your own lands, I will ſhow you a country " where you may fulfil your deſires. But it is " neceſſary for this that you ſhould be more in " number than you are now, for you would have " to fight your way with great kings, and amongſt " them, in the firſt place, with king Tubanamá, " who abounds with this gold, and whoſe country " is diſtant from our country ſix ſuns."

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* Peter Martyr adds, " and that you make ſo much turmoil " about a little gold which nevertheleſs you melt down from " beautifully wrought work into rude bars (for they carried their " melting inſtruments with them.)"—Dec. 2, lib. 3.

Then he ſignified to them, by pointing with his finger, that this rich territory lay towards a ſea, and ſouthwards; which ſea, he ſaid, they would come to, paſſing over certain ſierras, and where other nations had ſhips, a little leſs in ſize than thoſe of the Spaniards, navigated with ſails and oars, and that, traverſing that ſea, they would find a land of great riches, where the people had large veſſels of gold out of which they ate and drank; where indeed there was more gold than there was iron in Biſcay. It appears that the ſhrewd Indian had been making inquiry with reſpect to the manufacture of the Spaniſh ſwords. The above is not to be taken as a ſpeech ſet down in a claſſical hiſtory, but the ſubſtance of it really appears to have been uttered by the young Indian prince. Juan Alonſo and the other Spaniard, who had lived with king Careta, ſerved as interpreters; and theſe men ſeem to have been fated to be the conduits, as it were, of great deeds and great evil.

It appears, moreover, that the young prince ſaid, that a thouſand men would be requiſite for this undertaking; and that, when aſked for the grounds of his intelligence and for his advice, he made another ſpeech, in which he told the Spaniards that his countrymen, too, had wars, and that he had learned theſe facts from one of their

own men (" behold him," he exclaimed,) who had been a captive in thoſe countries he ſpoke of. He alſo offered to accompany the Spaniards, being bound himſelf; and he ſaid that they might hang him on the next tree if his words ſhould not prove true. The ſubſtance of his ſpeeches, and, probably, a good part of the very words, were conveyed to the Spaniſh court. This was the firſt notice of the Pacific and alſo of Peru; it is likely that Pizarro was a byſtander. " Our cap-" tains," ſays Peter Martyr, " marvelling at the " oration of the naked young man, pondered in " their minds and earneſtly conſidered his ſayings."

It ſeems that, for injuries done in former times to his nation, this youth wiſhed to ſtir up the Spaniards againſt his neighbours, and that he ſuggeſted a joint invaſion, whenever the Chriſtians ſhould be reinforced, offering to join to them his father's forces. " A prudent youth," this prince is called by both hiſtorians Peter Martyr and Las Caſas; but it is not the deſcription, I think, that would now be given of him; and one would ſay, that it needed not the lights of hiſtory or the thoughtfulneſs of refined civilization, to make all prudent people well aware of the latent danger of an over-powerful ally.

The Spaniards, having baptized Comogre and

his family, giving to him the name of Don Carlos, took their leave and returned to Darien, joyful and thoughtful, in the feverish state of mind of persons seeing before them great enterprises for which they are not quite prepared. When they arrived, they found that Valdivia had come with a ship and some provisions, also with a gracious message from the authorities of Hispaniola; but, as Las Casas well says, "In the house of a gam-" bler joy remains but a short time" (*en casa del tahur poco dura la alegria*); their provisions lasted but a few days; and Famine, always on their track, soon began to attack them again. It was not altogether their own fault on this occasion, for a great storm had destroyed what they had sown. They lived now, as we suppose the feudal barons to have lived in the middle ages, by predatory forage, robbing and devastating wherever they could.

Famine again at Darien.

It was about this time that Vasco Nuñez sent Valdivia to Hispaniola with the king's fifth of the gold. It amounted to fifteen thousand pesos; but neither he, nor his gold, ever reached their destination, for his vessel was wrecked in a perilous part of the sea near Jamaica, called the Vivoras or Pedro shoals, and he himself perished by the hands of the Indians.

Vaſco Nuñez has been held to be a man who dealt very wiſely, and, upon the whole, very mercifully with the Indians; but we are told that he was accuſtomed to put them to the torture,* in order to make them diſcover thoſe towns which had moſt gold and proviſions, and then to attack theſe towns by night. He wrote to the admiral ſaying that he had hanged thirty Caciques, and muſt hang as many as he ſhould take, for the Spaniards, being few, had no other way until he ſhould be ſupplied with more men.† He meant that terror was his only means of ſupplying the defect of force.

Hearing of a temple full of gold in the country of a Cacique called Dabaybe, towards the ſouth of the gulf of Urabá, the Spaniards made an incurſion into his Caciquedom, and, the Indians offering little or no reſiſtance, Vaſco Nuñez's men devaſtated the country. Meanwhile Colme-

* This is confirmed incidentally by Vaſco Nuñez himſelf in his letter of the 20th January 1513: "lo he ſabido en muchas maneras y formas, dando á unos tormento y á otros por amor y dando á otros coſas de Caſtilla."—NAV. *Col de Viages*, tom. 3, p. 365.

† "Eſcribió Vaſco Nuñez al Almirante, que habia ahorcado treinta caciques, y habia de ahorcar cuanto prendieſe, alegando que, porque eran pocos, no tenian otro remedio haſta que les enviaſe mucho ſocorro de gente."—LAS CASAS, *Hiſt. de Las Indias*, lib. 3, tom. 1, p. 250.

nares had been ſent to the eaſt of the gulf whither Vaſco Nuñez, after his return from Dabaybe, went to join him, and, uniting their companies, they entered the territory of a Cacique called Abenamache. This chief and his men made as ſtout a reſiſtance as they could with their two-handed wooden ſwords called *macanas*, ruſhing fiercely on the Spaniards, but to little purpoſe. After the battle, a common ſoldier, whom the Cacique had wounded, came up to him; and, with one blow of his ſword, ſtruck the Cacique's arm off. From thence Vaſco Nuñez, leaving Colmenares behind him, went up a river, and entered the territory of a Cacique named Abibeyba, where the houſes were in trees (as the ground was marſhy) of ſuch bigneſs that ſeven or eight men hand in hand, were ſcarcely able to ſurround one of them: but theſe Indians, though living in this ſtrange manner, do not ſeem to have been particularly barbarous or neglectful of the comforts of life, for it is mentioned that they had their cellars underground for fear of the wine being ſpoiled by the motion of the trees when ſhaken by the wind. Abibeyba was ſummoned to deſcend from his tree-fortreſs, and, when he refuſed, the Spaniards began to cut the tree, upon which he was obliged to come down.

Vaſco Nuñez invades Abibeyba's territory.

They aſked him for gold, in reply to which he ſaid he had none of it himſelf, and did not care for it any more than for ſtones, but he promiſed to endeavour to get ſome, and was allowed to depart for that purpoſe. As he did not return, however, at the ſtated time, the Spaniards deſtroyed his ſettlement. This Abibeyba, in his wanderings among the mountains came upon Abenamache, the Cacique who had loſt his arm: bewailing their hard fate they betook themſelves to Abraibe, a neighbouring chief into whoſe country a foraging expedition headed by a Spaniard named Raya, of the force left with Colmenares, had lately penetrated and had retired, loſing three men.

The Caciques near Darien conſpire.

The Caciques compared their fears and their griefs. "How long," they ſaid, "ſhall we bear "with the cruelty of theſe ſtrangers; is it not "better to die than to endure what they inflict "upon us?" Encouraging each other in this way, they reſolved to make an attack with five or ſix hundred men upon the ſtation of Colmenares, and ſo they did; but, unfortunately, on the very evening preceding their attack, Colmenares had received a reinforcement of thirty men, and the Spaniards were able not only to repel their aſſailants, but to capture many of them. Theſe were ſent to Darien to labour there.

Colmenares and Vaſco Nuñez now returned to Darien, leaving in Abenamache's country a man named Hurtado in command of thirty Spaniards. Theſe Spaniards making a foray and capturing ſome of the neighbouring Indians, Hurtado ſent a boat with the priſoners and with many of his men, who were ill, down the Rio Negro to Darien. On their way the boat was attacked by four large canoes, and all the Spaniards but two were drowned. Theſe two, clinging to logs and concealing themſelves in the bundles of drift wood that were floating down the river (as you ſee inſects on twigs), made their way to the ſhore, and thence back to Hurtado. He and the few who were left with him, abandoning their poſt in terror, ſet out for Darien; and, being greatly alarmed by this attack on their boats, they made inquiry of their priſoners, and found that five Caciques, Cemaco, the diſpoſſeſſed of Darien, Abenamache, Abibeyba, Dabaybe, and Abraibe had formed a conſpiracy, if ſuch a name it can be called, and had ſworn to collect their forces and make a joint attack on Darien, to deſtroy the Spaniards utterly. The numbers, as it afterwards appeared, with which the Caciques would have come, were five thouſand. This plan might have been ſucceſsful, had not a fooliſh Indian betrayed it to his ſiſter, a

favorite of Vaſco Nuñez's, named Fulvia. Addreſſing his ſiſter tenderly,* he told her that their chiefs could no longer bear the inſolence of theſe new-comers, that they had prepared a hundred canoes, that their forces would be five thouſand, that proviſions were being ſtored up at Tirichi, that their deſign had gone ſo far that the Caciques had agreed upon the diviſion of the goods of the Spaniards, and he warned her to look after her own ſafety when the day for the attack ſhould come. She, more mindful of her lover than of her country, betrayed the whole ſecret to him.

To be forewarned, in the caſe of men fighting with iron ſwords and lances againſt others with wooden ones, was not merely to be forearmed, but to be victorious. Indeed, Vaſco Nuñez turned this conſpiracy to great advantage. He cauſed Fulvia to induce her brother to come to him, and the fooliſh, confiding Indian, when put to the torture, confeſſed that this conſpiracy was the doing of the indefatigable Cemaco, that he planned the attack in the canoes, and that certain men, whom he had ſent as a pledge of friendſhip to Vaſco Nuñez, and who tilled his grounds at Da-

* "Dilecta mihi ſoror, dilecta, auſculta meis dictis, et celato "quæ referam, ſi tibi, mihique, univerſo etiam generi noſtro bene "conſultum iri deſideras."—PET. MARTYR, dec. 2, lib. 3.

rien, had inſtructions to kill him, which they had never been able to do, as he always overlooked his labourers on horſeback with a lance in his hand.

Vaſco Nuñez compelled the young Indian to conduct Colmenares at the head of ſeventy men to the ſpot, Tirichi, where the forces of the Caciques were collecting together for their enterpriſe. He himſelf went with another ſeventy to hunt for Cemaco, but was unſucceſsful. Colmenares, however, falling ſuddenly on Tirichi, captured the confederates, ſeized their proviſions, put the chiefs to death, and terrified the whole country into ſubmiſſion. The Caciques conquered.

Vaſco Nuñez and the coloniſts at Darien now reſolved that a meſſenger ſhould be ſent to the King in Spain, to inform his Highneſs of what had happened, to tell him of the ſpeech of King Comogre's ſon, and to ſeek for countenance and ſuccour. Vaſco Nuñez wiſhed to go himſelf, thinking probably that he ſhould plead his own cauſe beſt, but his companions would not hear of this. They choſe Quicedo and Colmenares as their deputies, who were well furniſhed with funds for their important miſſion; but their means of going were of the moſt miſerable deſcription. They fitted up one of the old brigantines which Quicedo and Colmenares ſent as deputies to Spain.

had been ſet aſide for ſix months as unfit for uſe, making all the tackle out of the bark of trees. With a very ſcanty ſtock of proviſions, and with not a ſoul on board who knew anything of navigation, in this crazy veſſel the deputies from Darien left that colony in October, 1512. As was to be expected, they made a very bad paſſage of it, and, being driven to Cuba, and afterwards going to Hiſpaniola, which was in accordance with their inſtructions, they did not arrive in Spain until May, 1513. Peter Martyr, who ſays he frequently entertained theſe deputies from Darien, gives an account of their appearance: "they are "as yellow as people in the jaundice and are "ſwollen." This he attributed to the bad air of Darien, which was ſituated in a moſt unhealthy ſpot; but they accounted for their appearance by the ſtarvation they had undergone.

One part of their intelligence ſeems particularly to have caught the fancy of their countrymen at home. An Indian had mentioned that there was a river where the natives fiſhed for gold with nets; the deputies told this ſtory; and, as all perſons, from the weakeſt to the ſtrongeſt, thought that this was a kind of fiſhing at which they would be ſingularly expert and fortunate, all Spain became anxious to fiſh in thoſe waters.

Unfortunately for Vaſco Nuñez, the deputies from Darien were not the only perſons of that colony at this time preſent at the court of Spain. The Bachiller Enciſo was there too, and no doubt loud and bitter in making his complaints at court of Vaſco Nuñez. Beſides, there was the intelligence of what had happened to Nicueſa; and, as it appeared that Vaſco had got the greateſt gain from Nicueſa's repulſe, he had alſo to bear the greateſt part of the blame for that tranſaction. The king ordered him to be proceeded againſt, and in the civil courts he was caſt in all the expenſes which Enciſo had by his means been put to.

Meanwhile Vaſco Nuñez had no eaſy time of it at Darien, where factiouſneſs reigned ſupreme. It ſeems as if this ſpirit of faction exiſts in a new colony in amount almoſt equal to that in which it is found in a village, or a ſmall town, at home; and that this ſpirit is ſtill further developed by the general activity which is neceſſary, and the ſharper way in which men come againſt each other, in ſuch a colony. It appears that there was a man named Bartholomew Hurtado whom Vaſco Nuñez favoured much, and to whom as we have ſeen, he entruſted authority. This man, for ſome

reaſon or other, became particularly obnoxious to ſome of his comrades. Their faction, uniting under a perſon of the name of Alonſo Perez and another called the Bachiller Corral, ſought to take priſoners both Hurtado and his chief; but Vaſco Nuñez, who was always alert, made the firſt move, ſeizing Alonſo Perez and putting him in priſon. His party at once drew out in battle array in the centre ſquare of the town; Vaſco Nuñez and his party did the ſame, and, but for the prudence of ſome of them, who ſaw that, whichever gained the day, the Indians would very likely deſtroy the victors, the contending parties would have come to blows. The diſpute, therefore, was ſuppreſſed for the moment, on Vaſco Nuñez agreeing to releaſe Alonſo Perez the ringleader on the other ſide. The ill-feeling, however, remained in full force; and a ſecond time the oppoſite party reſolved to ſeize upon Vaſco Nuñez. The cauſe was this: The diviſion of gold naturally formed a pregnant ſource of diſpute amongſt thoſe rude men who compoſed the remnant of the forces of Ojeda and Nicueſa, and who were now under the unauthorized command of Vaſco Nuñez. They accuſed their commander of unfairneſs in this diviſion, and, as there was a ſum of ten thouſand caſtellanos juſt about to be divided, this

Factions at Darien.

was the cauſe, or they made it the pretext, of their intention to ſeize upon him. The way in which he got through this difficulty may ſerve to ſhow the abilities of this man for command. Far from ſeeking to be the great man in this important buſineſs, on the very evening of the day of partition, or the day before, the politic Vaſco Nuñez went out to hunt, and left his enemies to ſeize upon the gold and divide it. They, as was to be expected, made enemies in doing ſo, and looſened the bands of their own faction, while thoſe who were injured, or who thought they were, made a great tumult, recalled Vaſco Nuñez to full power, and put his enemies, Alonſo Perez and the Bachiller Corral,* in priſon. There they probably conſoled themſelves by drawing up papers of accuſation againſt Vaſco Nuñez.

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* Bachelors of law were always odious to Vaſco Nuñez. In a letter to the king, in which he is very ſparing indeed in making any claim for himſelf, he ſays,—"One thing I ſupplicate your "Highneſs, for it is much to your ſervice, and that is, that you "would give orders under a great penalty that no bachelor of "law, or of anything elſe, except medicine, ſhould be allowed to "come to theſe parts of the Terra Firma, for no bachelor comes "here who is not a devil, and who does not lead the life of a "devil; and not only are they bad themſelves, but they alſo make "and keep alive (*tienen forma*) a thouſand law-ſuits and iniqui-"ties. This regulation would be greatly for your Highneſs's "ſervice, for the land is new."—*Carta al Rey*, Jan. 20, 1513. Nav. *Viag.* tom. 3, p. 374.

About this time there arrived at Darien two veſſels, with a hundred and fifty men in them, and with proviſions, which had been ſent from Hiſpaniola by the admiral and the judges there. Theſe ſhips alſo brought ſomething which was very welcome to Vaſco Nuñez, namely, his appointment as captain-general. This was done by Paſamonte the treaſurer, whoſe power, it was ſaid, ſtretched to this extent, and certain it is, that he was always in favour with King Ferdinand, and was regarded as one of the king's eſpecial ſervants, in contradiſtinction to thoſe of the admiral. Any ſhow of authority muſt have been very welcome to Vaſco Nuñez; and in his joy, as if it had been a birthday, he willingly conſented to let looſe all the priſoners, as a gift upon the receipt of good news.

Vaſco Nuñez appointed captain-general.

However, amidſt all theſe flowers of rejoicing, there came, it is conjectured in the ſame ſhips, certainly ſoon afterwards, ſome adder-like news, which muſt have filled the heart of Vaſco Nuñez with apprehenſion; and that was, the report of his own disfavour at court, cauſed by the complaints of the Bachiller Enciſo, and by the intelligence of Nicueſa's fate. I ſhould think that the rumour of the king's intention to appoint a governor of Darien was very likely to have accompanied this

news, which came in a letter from Zamudio, Vaſco Nuñez's former colleague.

His poſition was now moſt perilous. The maxim, *confugiendum eſt ad imperium*, muſt have occurred to him, not exactly in the words of the original, for Vaſco Nuñez had little learning, but only by that intuitive knowledge which great peril, coming upon great reſources of mind, eaſily ſtrikes out. In truth, it is melancholy to obſerve, as wiſe men have done, how much of private miſery is at the bottom of great actions, and what ſleepleſs furies have driven many an Oreſtes to enterpriſes that were tranſcendently difficult, but not ſo difficult as ſtaying ſtill, or looking backwards.

Vaſco Nuñez reſolved to be the diſcoverer of that ſea, and of thoſe rich lands to which Comogre's ſon had pointed, when, after rebuking the Spaniards for their "brabbling" about the diviſion of the gold, he turned his face towards the ſouth. In Vaſco Nuñez's preſent peril, it was no uſe waiting for reinforcements from Spain: when thoſe reinforcements ſhould come, his diſmiſſal would come too. Accordingly, early in September, 1513, he ſet out on his renowned expedition for finding "the other ſea," accompanied by a hundred and ninety men well armed, and by dogs,

September 1513 Vaſco Nuñez ſets out for "the other ſea."

which were of more avail than men, and by Indian ſlaves to carry the burthens. He went by ſea to the territory of his father-in-law, King Careta, by whom he was well received, and, accompanied by whoſe Indians, he moved on into Poncha's territory. This Cacique took flight, as he had done before, ſeeking refuge amongſt his mountains; but Vaſco Nuñez, whoſe firſt thought in his preſent undertaking was diſcovery and not conqueſt, ſent meſſengers to Poncha, promiſing not to hurt him. The Indian chief liſtened to theſe overtures, and came to Vaſco Nuñez with gold in his hands. It was the policy of the Spaniſh commander on this occaſion to keep his word: we have ſeen how treacherous he could be when it was not his policy; but he now did no harm to Poncha, and, on the contrary, he ſecured his friendſhip by preſenting him with looking-glaſſes, hatchets, and hawks'-bells, in return for which he obtained guides and porters from among this Cacique's people, which enabled him to proſecute his journey.

Following Poncha's guides, Vaſco Nuñez and his men commenced the aſcent of the mountains, until he entered the country of an Indian chief called Quarequa, whom they found fully prepared to reſiſt them. The brave Indian advanced at the head of his troops, meaning to make a vigor-

ous attack; but they could not withſtand the diſcharge of the fire-arms; indeed they believed the Spaniards to have thunder and lightning in their hands—not an unreaſonable fancy,—and, flying in the utmoſt terror from the place of battle, a total rout enſued. The rout was a bloody one, and is deſcribed by an author, who gained his information from thoſe who were preſent at it, as a ſcene to remind one of the ſhambles.* The king and his principal men were ſlain, to the number of ſix hundred. In ſpeaking of theſe people, Peter Martyr makes mention of the ſweetneſs of their language, and how all the words might be written in Latin letters, as was alſo to be remarked in that of the inhabitants of Hiſpaniola. This writer alſo mentions, and there is reaſon for thinking that he was rightly informed, that there was a region, not two days' journey from Quarequa's territory, in which Vaſco Nuñez found a race of black men, who were conjectured to have come from Africa, and to have been ſhipwrecked on this coaſt.

Quarequa conquered.

Leaving ſeveral of his men, who were ill, or over-weary, in Quarequa's chief town, and taking with him guides from this country, the Spaniſh

* "Veluti per macella lanii bovinas arietinaſque ſecant in fruſta "carnes, ita huic nates, illi femur, alteri humeros uno ictu noſtri "ſcindebant."—PET. MARTYR, dec. 3, lib. 1.

commander purſued his way up the moſt lofty ſierras there, until, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1513, he came near to the top of a mountain from whence the South Sea was viſible. The diſtance from Poncha's chief town to this point was forty leagues, reckoned then ſix days' journey, but Vaſco Nuñez and his men took twenty-five days to do it in, ſuffering much from the roughneſs of the ways and from the want of proviſions.

A little before Vaſco Nuñez reached the height, Quarequa's Indians informed him of his near approach to it. It was a ſight which any man would wiſh to be alone to ſee. Vaſco Nuñez bade his men ſit down while he alone aſcended and looked down upon the vaſt Pacific, the firſt man of the old world, ſo far as we know, who had done ſo. Falling on his knees, he gave thanks to God for the favour ſhown to him in his being the firſt man to diſcover and behold this ſea; then with his hand he beckoned to his men to come up; when they had come, both he and they knelt down and poured forth their thanks to God. He then addreſſed them in theſe words: "You ſee here, "gentlemen and children mine, how our deſires "are being accompliſhed, and the end of our la- "bours. Of that we ought to be certain, for, as "it has turned out true what King Comogre's

Vaſco Nuñez ſees the Pacific.

" ſon told of this ſea to us, who never thought to " ſee it, ſo I hold for certain that what he told us " of there being incomparable treaſures in it will " be fulfilled. God and his bleſſed Mother who " have aſſiſted us, ſo that we ſhould arrive here " and behold this ſea, will favour us that we may " enjoy all that there is in it."

Every great and original action has a proſpective greatneſs, not alone from the thoughts of the man who achieves it, but from the various aſpects and high thoughts which the ſame action will continue to preſent and call up in the minds of others to the end, it may be, of all time. And ſo a remarkable event may go on acquiring more and more ſignificance. In this caſe, our knowledge that the Pacific, which Vaſco Nuñez then beheld, occupies more than one half of the earth's ſurface, is an element of thought which in our minds lightens up and gives an awe to this firſt gaze of his upon thoſe mighty waters. To him the ſcene might not at that moment have ſuggeſted much more than it would have done to a mere conqueror: indeed, Peter Martyr likens Vaſco Nuñez to Hannibal ſhowing Italy to his ſoldiers.*

* " Hannibale, Italiam et Alpina promontoria militibus oſten- " dente, ferocior, ingentes opes ſociis pollicetur."—Dec. 3, lib. 1.

Having thus addreſſed his men, Vaſco Nuñez proceeded to take formal poſſeſſion, on behalf of the kings of Caſtile, of the ſea and of all that was in it; and, in order to make memorials of the event, he cut down trees, formed croſſes, and heaped up ſtones. He alſo inſcribed the names of the monarchs of Caſtile upon great trees thereabouts.

Deſcending the ſierras, he entered the territory of an Indian chief called Chiapes. The Indians here, truſting to their numbers, were diſpoſed to make a valorous reſiſtance, but were very ſoon put to flight. Vaſco Nuñez ſent meſſengers to Chiapes with overtures of peace, which being accepted by the Indian chief, he came to the camp, bringing four hundred peſos of gold, and was graciouſly received by the Spaniſh commander, who in return preſented him with the uſual ſhowy trifles which were given to the Indians. With ſuch preſents Vaſco Nuñez, having gratified the Indians he had brought from Quarequa's country, ſent them back. This conduct was very politic; it conciliated and reaſſured the Indians thus ſent back; it gave confidence to the freſh ones who accompanied him; and it prevented him from being overburdened with Indians, who might impede rather than advance the march. In truth,

throughout this expedition, Vaſco Nuñez ſeems to have acted with great ſagacity.

While he was in the town belonging to Chiapes, he ſent on Franciſco Pizarro, Alonſo Martin, and others, to find the ſhorteſt way to the ſea-ſhore. Alonſo Martin was the firſt to diſcover it; he deſcended to the ſhore, and found two canoes lying high and dry in a place where he could perceive no ſea. At this he was aſtoniſhed; but, the ſea making its appearance and gradually advancing to the canoes, he entered one of them, begging his companions to bear witneſs that he was the firſt to enter upon that ſea. Pizarro and Alonſo Martin returned with their intelligence, and then Vaſco Nuñez himſelf went down to the ſhore, accompanied by eighty of his men. He entered the ſea up to his thighs, having his ſword on, and with his ſhield in his hand; then he called the byſtanders to witneſs how he touched with his perſon and took poſſeſſion of this ſea for the kings of Caſtile, and that he would defend the poſſeſſion of it againſt all comers.

After this Vaſco Nuñez made friends, in the uſual manner, firſt conquering and then negotiating with the next Indian chief, called Coquera, who brought him a preſent of gold.

But, amongſt all the Indian chiefs into whoſe

good graces Vaſco Nuñez fought or negotiated himſelf, there was no one who ſeems to have felt ſo much friendſhip for him as Chiapes. Vaſco Nuñez, whoſe energy was inſatiable, who—in the words, I imagine, of a proverb of that time,—Las Caſas ſays, "could not be quiet even while his bread was being baked," reſolved to navigate a certain gulf in thoſe parts, to which he gave the name of San Miguel, a name it ſtill retains. The friendly Cacique, Chiapes, endeavoured to diſſuade him on account of the danger at that time of the year; but the Cacique went with him to ſhare it. Vaſco Nuñez declared that God would aſſiſt them in this enterpriſe, for that much ſervice to God and increaſe of the faith would ariſe from this voyage, by means of the great treaſures which, he ſaid, had to be diſcovered to enable the kings of Caſtile to make war againſt the infidels. Vaſco Nuñez found the navigation of this gulf very hazardous, and nearly loſt his life there. With great difficulty he made his way to the country of a chief called Tumaco, in a corner of the gulf. This chief ſought to reſiſt the invaders; but the Spaniards eaſily vanquiſhed him, as uſual; and Vaſco Nuñez's friend Chiapes ſent meſſengers to Tumaco, telling him how fearful to their enemies, how gracious to their friends, the Spaniards were

Vaſco Nuñez navigates the gulf of San Miguel.

(Chiapes will live to tell another ſtory); but the Indian was incredulous: he had received a wound in his battle with the Spaniards, and ſent his ſon to them inſtead of going himſelf. This ſon, however, being well treated, Tumaco found courage to come in perſon, and, being kindly received by Vaſco Nuñez, this Indian chief ſent for ornaments of gold, and two hundred and forty large pearls, which he preſented to the Spaniards. He alſo deſired his people to fiſh for more. The Spaniards could hardly contain their joy. One thing alone occurred to damp it. The Indians, not knowing better, were accuſtomed to open oyſters by means of fire; this injured the colour of the pearl; and, accordingly, the Spaniards diligently taught the Indians the art of opening oyſters without fire, with far more diligence, indeed, than they expended in teaching their new friends any point of Chriſtian doctrine.

It was ſaid that this Cacique ſpoke of the riches of Peru to Vaſco Nuñez; and there is ſomething to countenance this in the report of the Spaniſh commander's letter to the king, for he ſays, that he had learnt from Tumaco wonderful ſecrets of the riches of that land, which for the preſent he wiſhed to keep to himſelf. Both Caciques, the friendly Chiapes and Tumaco, ſpoke to Vaſco

Nuñez of an iſland in the Gulf of San Miguel, ruled over by a powerful king who made incurſions into their territories, and who poſſeſſed great pearls. Vaſco Nuñez threatened fearful things againſt this king, and was anxious to go to the iſland, but his confederate Caciques perſuaded him not to do ſo, on account of the dangers of the navigation at this ſeaſon.

The Spaniſh commander, after having given ſome attention to pearl fiſhing, reſolved to return home to Darien, but by a different route from that which he had taken in coming. He now bade farewell to theſe friendly Caciques, and the ſimple Chiapes abſolutely ſhed tears at the parting. Every where in the courſe of his way homewards, the Spaniard found obedient and hoſpitable Caciques. A fierce and brutal tyrant of the name of Pacra, who, according to the account of Vaſco Nuñez, had committed various injuries againſt his neighbours, was ſolemnly judged by the Spaniſh commander, and, being condemned, was, with three of his lords, torn in pieces by the Spaniſh dogs. After ſtaying ſome little time in Pacra's country, Vaſco Nuñez moved on to Buchebuea's, where he was well received, and thence into the territory of Pocoroſa. This part of the Terra Firma was divided into ſmall Caciquedoms,

of which the government was truly a paternal one. To uſe the words of a ſoldier who was afterwards ſtationed here, and who was witneſs of the ceremonies at Pocoroſa's death, "they "lived in much juſtice, in the law of nature, "without any ceremony or adoration" (*en mucha juſticia, en ley de naturaleza, ſin ninguna ceremonia ni adoracion*). Their Caciques in perſon, like our kings of yore, judged cauſes, and their way of judging was to ſummon before them the parties in the cauſe, who had to give their own account of the caſe; and then the Caciques, without hearing witneſſes, "holding it for certain that the "parties would ſpeak the truth (for he who lied "to his lord immediately died for it), gave judg-"ment, and there was an end of the matter."* The Caciques had no tribute, but only perſonal ſervice, as, for inſtance, when they were ſowing, or building, or fiſhing, or carrying on war, all their vaſſals had to aſſiſt them, and they in return gave their vaſſals food and drink (*por fieſta*). Death was the puniſhment for murder and for

Cuſtoms in Pocoroſa's country.

* "Teniendo por cierto que las partes le habian de decir ver-"dad (porque el que mentia al ſeñor luego moria por ello), de-"terminaba el pleito, y no habia de haber mas altercacion ſobre "ello."—Pascual de Andagoya. Nav. *Viag.* tom. 3, p. 399.

theft. They believed in witchcraft, and there were witches and wizards amongſt them. Of their origin and hiſtory theſe Indians could give but little account; but they had ſome knowledge of a deluge, and of a man who had eſcaped in a canoe with his wife and children, and had peopled the earth; and that in Heaven there was a Lord who cauſed rain and all the other things which deſcend from above.

This is the deſcription, the beſt, as far as I know, given by a ſoldier too, and not by a prieſt, that we have of the ways and thoughts of the Indians in that part of the Terra Firma. It is eaſy to perceive that they were a people who might, without much difficulty, have been converted and civilized.

Pocoroſa, at Vaſco Nuñez's approach, took to flight; but afterwards returned, and was won over by Vaſco Nuñez in the uſual way. The Spaniſh commander learnt that to get to Darien he muſt paſs through Tubanamá's country. This was the much-dreaded chieftain whom King Comogre's ſon made mention of in his ſpeech. Vaſco Nuñez, by no means daunted at the rumours of Tubanamá's greatneſs, made a forced march with the beſt of his men, came upon Tubanamá's town ſuddenly by night, and captured him and

his family. Adjoining to Tubanamá's abode was a hall of a hundred and twenty feet long and fifty broad, which ſerved as a barrack for this Indian chieftain's levies when he was about to make war. The town was a very ſcattered one, built ſo on purpoſe, to avoid the danger of hurricanes; and thus the Indians, before the Spaniards had time to ſecure them, were able to fly. The people from Pocoroſa's country who had accompanied Vaſco Nuñez, and others who were enemies to Tubanamá, began to ſeek his deſtruction. He was repreſented to be another Pacra, and his neighbours mocked and rejoiced at his fall.

The Spaniſh commander made as if he would be very ſevere with Tubanamá, and ordered him to be brought out as if for death: ſaying that he would have him thrown into the river into which he heard that in former days Tubanamá had threatened that he would throw the Spaniards, if they ſhould come that way. The Cacique with tears begged for his life, ſaying that all that had been alleged againſt him, was ſaid by the envy of enemies who were not able to ſubdue him, and that, as regarded the Spaniards, he had certainly never done them any harm: as for the threats attributed to him, ſuch things might have been ſaid by his chiefs, when drunk,

for which he blamed them. Coming up to Vaſco Nuñez, and putting his hand upon his ſword, he ſaid, "Who that had any brains would contend "againſt this *macana*, which at one blow can "cleave a man in two?" He alſo promiſed to get much gold, if he were but releaſed.

Vaſco Nuñez, who had never intended to put the Cacique to death, but who, doubtleſs, thought this a good opportunity of ſhowing his own power, now ſoftened his countenance and releaſed Tubanamá, who cauſed about ſix thouſand peſos worth of gold to be brought, all worked up into trinkets for women. Upon being queſtioned cloſely about the gold, he denied that it came from his territory; but Vaſco Nuñez, trying the ground, diſcovered that it was auriferous; and, accordingly, he reſolved to found two ſettlements, one in Pocoroſa's country, and another in Tubanamá's.

Ordering Tubanamá to collect gold and ſend it to him, Vaſco Nuñez quitted that chieftain's territory, and, purſuing his courſe to Darien, came next to Comogra. The labours and the changes of climate he had endured, began to tell even upon the hardy Nuñez; he ſuffered now from fever, and was carried in a litter borne by Indians. In Comogra, where he had firſt received that intelligence which had been all-important to him, he muſt

have felt as if almoſt at home. The old chief was dead, but the eldeſt ſon, who had made that eloquent but unwiſe ſpeech, was reigning in his ſtead. By him Vaſco Nuñez was hoſpitably entertained; and, doubtleſs, they had many things to hear from, and to tell each other. In a few days Vaſco Nuñez, having recovered from the fever, purſued his way to Darien. As if to crown his good fortune, when he entered Poncha's territory, he found four young men who had come from Darien to tell him that two ſhips, well laden with proviſions, had arrived from Hiſpaniola. Taking a choſen body of his men, he haſtened onwards and reached Darien on the twenty-ninth of January, 1514, having ſet off from there on the firſt of September 1513, this moſt important expedition occupying not quite four months.

Vaſco Nuñez returns to Darien.

His men at Darien received him with exultation; and we may be ſure he loſt no time in ſending his good news (*tan ſeñaladas y nuevas nuevas*) to the king of Spain, accompanying it with rich preſents. His letter, which gave a detailed account of his journey, and which, for its length, is compared by Peter Martyr to the celebrated letter that came to the Senate from Tiberius, contained in every page thanks to God that he had eſcaped from ſuch great dangers and labours.

Both the letter and the preſents were entruſted to a man named Arbolanche, who departed from Darien about the beginning of March, 1514.

In his letter to the king, Vaſco Nuñez mentioned that he had not loſt a man in theſe battles with the Indians. But, indeed, why ſhould he have done ſo; for what was there in their ſimple weapons and innocent mode of warfare that could, unleſs by accident, deſtroy a well-armed man?

CHAPTER III.

The Expedition under Pedrarias.

VASCO Nuñez's meſſenger, Arbolanche, reached the court of Spain too late for his maſter's intereſts. Previouſly even to the arrival of Quicedo and Colmenares, who had brought ſuch wonderful news about the diſcoveries in the Terra Firma, the Spaniſh government had reſolved to appoint a new governor.* And the news brought by the deputies from Darien ſerved to increaſe the importance of the appointment, and greatly to increaſe the numbers of the expedition. As all Spain was in a ſtate of excitement at the idea of fiſhing up gold with nets, the appointment of governor of Darien was much ſought after; but, ultimately, was conferred

* Quicedo and Colmenares reached Spain May 1513: the date of Pedrarias's appointment is July 27, 1513, ſo that it is very probable, eſpecially as Enciſo and his complaints reached the Court of Spain before theſe deputies, that the appointment of a governor was quite a ſettled thing before they arrived.

Pedrarias appointed Governor of Darien.

upon the man whom the Biſhop of Burgos favoured, namely Pedrarias de Avila.

This was an elderly man of rank and high connections, of much repute in war, having ſerved with honour in Africa, but in reality a ſecond Bobadilla. From his feats in the tournament, he had got the name of *Juſtador*, the jouſter.

There is one thing to be ſaid for the appointment of men of that age and ſtation, which, if it occurred to king Ferdinand, would have been very likely to have great weight with him. It is, that they are pretty nearly ſure to be faithful to their ſovereign. It is too late for them to form great independent ſchemes of their own; but then they lack the liſſomeneſs of mind, as well as body, which is neceſſary in dealing with ſuch entirely new circumſtances as thoſe which the Spaniſh captains in the New World had to encounter. I conjecture Pedrarias to have been a ſuſpicious, fiery, arbitrary old man. "Furor Domini" was a name given him by the monks in after days; *Diaboli* might have been well ſubſtituted inſtead of *Domini* in this caſe.

Comogre's ſon had ſaid that a thouſand men would be neceſſary to make their way to the ſea, and to obtain the riches which were there to be obtained. For greater ſafety twelve hundred

was the number aſſigned to Pedrarias for his armament, and in reality fifteen hundred was the number which went, for it happened that there was a great diſbanding of troops at that time, and the men thus ſet free were anxious to enter the ſervice of Pedrarias. The victory of Ravenna, gained by the French over the Spaniards, had alarmed king Ferdinand for his Neapolitan poſſeſſions: he had haſtily raiſed levies which he intended to place under the command of the Great Captain, Gonſalvo de Cordova; but, not finding it neceſſary to ſend ſuccour to Naples, or being jealous of the Great Captain (which jealouſy great urgency had quenched for a time) this expedition was abandoned.

When Pedrarias arrived at Seville, he found no fewer than two thouſand young men eager to be enrolled in his forces, and "not a ſmall number "of avaricious old men," many of whom offered to go at their own expenſe. It was neceſſary, however, not to overload the ſhips, and therefore, many of theſe candidates were rejected. Amongſt thoſe choſen were ſeveral nobles. A Biſhop alſo was appointed to the new colony, whoſe name was Juan de Quevedo. Four principal officers accompanied the governor, namely, a treaſurer, a factor, a contador, and a veedor.

Gonſalvo Hernandez de Oviedo, the celebrated hiſtorian, went out as Veedor in this expedition, Gaſpar de Eſpinoſa as Alcalde Mayor, and the Bachiller Enciſo as Alguacil Mayor, which appointment boded no good to Vaſco Nuñez.

The inſtructions given to Pedrarias on this occaſion ſtill exiſt; and the introduction to them is ſo curious, and bears ſo cloſely on the preſent ſubject, that it will be deſirable to give an account of it. After ſtating in few words the diſcovery of the Terra Firma, the document goes on to declare the motives for the expedition.

Inſtructions to Pedrarias.

" And, in order that Our Lord may be ſerved " in the ſaid lands, and His Holy Name made " known, and the inhabitants of the aforeſaid " country converted to our ſacred Catholic faith, " that they may be inſtructed in it and put in the " way of ſalvation, and that there may not be loſt " ſuch a number of ſouls as hitherto have pe- " riſhed, and in order that this deſign may have " the effect which we deſire, We have ſent to beg " our very Sacred Father that he would provide " prelates who may be eccleſiaſtical perſons, learn- " ed and of good example, to go and teach and " preach to theſe nations: and, for the ſecurity " of theſe perſons, it has been neceſſary to pro- " vide a certain number of people who ſhould go

" and ſettle in the ſaid lands, in order that, by the " doctrine of theſe eccleſiaſtics, and by the means " of converſion of the other Chriſtians (that is, by " the communication between the Chriſtians and " the Indians) the natives may more quietly, when " converted to our Sacred Faith, remain in it, " until they ſhall be more capable of receiving " Chriſtian doctrine than it appears they now are."

Conſidering what we know of the proceedings of this and other armaments, the foregoing extract may ſeem to be a mere pretence; but I do not think that it was ſo, and it entirely embodies the views of the men of that period. The Indians were to be converted to Chriſtianity and Chriſtian polity, but this could not be done, theſe Spaniſh ſtateſmen and juriſts thought, by doctrine alone, for it needed alſo, they maintained, the daily intercourſe with a civilized people. The Indians were therefore, to have the benefit of the example and converſation of the Chriſtians. The particular means, by which this converſion was to be effected, are given in another document of a later date, called the Inſtruction to Pedrarias de Avila by the king, in which the utmoſt kindneſs and tenderneſs towards the Indians, are inſiſted upon. They are to be attached by good works to Chriſtianity. They are to ſee that the Spa-

niards tell truth, that ſo they may have confidence in them. They are by no means to be made war againſt, unleſs they are the aggreſſors; and, as it will be the intereſt of the men under Pedrarias's command, that he ſhould make war, to enable them to get ſlaves, it appears to me, ſays the king, that the ſoundeſt opinion, in reference to making war, will be that of the biſhop.*

Inſtructions to Pedrarias.

The important queſtion of *encomiendas*† is then touched upon. Three modes of dealing with this ſubject are ſuggeſted. Firſt, the Indians may be given as perſonal ſervants, in which caſe the ordinances in their favour are to be carefully obſerved, and, far from being diminiſhed in their humane tendency, are to be made more conſiderate. The ſhrewd king throws in a worldly reaſon for this. "If," he ſays, "in the iſland of "Hiſpaniola the Indians have fled to the moun- "tains to eſcape labours they were unaccuſtomed "to, they will be more able to do ſo in the Terra "Firma." The next plan would be (which is the

* Nav. *Viages*, tom. 3, p. 348.

† The words *repartimiento* and *encomienda* are often uſed indiſcriminately by Spaniſh authors; but, ſpeaking accurately, *repartimiento* means the firſt apportionment of Indians—*encomienda* the apportionment of any Spaniard's ſhare which might become "vacant" by his death or baniſhment. See Antonio de Leon, *Confirmaciones reales*, cap. 1.

one the king rather leans to), that the Spaniards ſhould make uſe of the Indians by an agreement with them (*por via de paz y de concierto*); in which caſe the Caciques, if there are ſuch lords in thoſe parts, will ſupply a part of the men under them to ſerve the Spaniards, a third, or a fourth, or a fifth of the people, to be changed every few months. If neither of theſe plans ſhould be carried into effect, the Indians might be left to live as they were then living, but in that caſe they were to pay tribute.

So much for the ſyſtem of *encomiendas* laid down by the king in this very wiſe and humane document.

With reſpect to making war upon the Indians, they were to be carefully informed and to have thorough notice (*entera noticia*) of the danger they would run from war being once commenced, namely, of thoſe taken alive being made ſlaves. For this purpoſe a document was framed by Dr. Palacios Rubios, a very learned juriſt of that day, and a member of the Council, a document before alluded to, but which it is deſirable to give again. It went by the name of *El Requerimiento* (the Requiſition), and it ran thus:

The Requiſition.

" On the part of the King, Don Fernando, " and of Doña Juana, his daughter, Queen of

The Requiſition.

" Caſtile and Leon, ſubduers of the barbarous na-
" tions, we their ſervants notify and make known
" to you, as beſt we can, that the Lord our God,
" living and eternal, created the heaven and the
" earth, and one man and one woman, of whom
" you and we, and all the men of the world,
" were and are deſcendants, and all thoſe who
" come after us. But, on account of the multi-
" tude which has ſprung from this man and wo-
" man in the five thouſand years ſince the world
" was created, it was neceſſary that ſome men
" ſhould go one way and ſome another, and that
" they ſhould be divided into many kingdoms
" and provinces, for in one alone they could not
" be ſuſtained.

" Of all theſe nations God our Lord gave
" charge to one man, called St. Peter, that he
" ſhould be Lord and Superior of all the men in
" the world, that all ſhould obey him, and that
" he ſhould be the head of the whole human race,
" wherever men ſhould live, and under whatever
" law, ſect, or belief they ſhould be; and he gave
" him the world for his kingdom and juriſdiction."

" And he commanded him to place his ſeat in
" Rome, as the ſpot moſt fitting to rule the world
" from; but alſo he permitted him to have his
" ſeat in any other part of the world, and to judge

" and govern all Chriſtians, Moors, Jews, Gen- The Re-
" tiles, and all other ſects. This man was called quiſition.
" Pope, as if to ſay, Admirable Great Father and
" Governor of men. The men who lived in that
" time obeyed that St. Peter, and took him for
" Lord, King, and Superior of the univerſe"
(imagine what Tiberius or Nero would have ſaid
to this!); " ſo alſo have they regarded the others
" who after him have been elected to the ponti-
" ficate, and ſo has it been continued even till
" now, and will continue till the end of the world.

" One of theſe Pontiffs, who ſucceeded in the
" room of that St. Peter in that dignity and ſeat
" which I have mentioned as Lord of the world,
" made donation of theſe iſles and Terra Firma to
" the aforeſaid King and Queen and to their ſuc-
" ceſſors, our lords, with all that there are in theſe
" territories, as is contained in certain writings
" which paſſed upon the ſubject as aforeſaid, which
" you can ſee if you wiſh.

" So their Highneſſes are kings and lords of
" theſe iſlands and land of Terra Firma by virtue
" of this donation: and ſome iſlands, and indeed
" almoſt all thoſe to whom this has been notified,
" have received and ſerved their Highneſſes, as
" lords and kings, in the way that ſubjects ought
" to do, with good will, without any reſiſtance,

The Requiſition.

" immediately, without delay, when they were informed of the aforeſaid facts. And alſo they received and obeyed the prieſts whom their Highneſſes ſent to preach to them and to teach them our ſacred faith; and all theſe, of their own free will, without any reward or condition, have become Chriſtians, and are ſo, and their Highneſſes have joyfully and benignantly received them, and alſo have commanded them to be treated as their ſubjects and vaſſals; and you too are held and obliged to do the ſame. Wherefore, as beſt we can, we aſk and require you that you conſider what we have ſaid to you, and that you take the time that ſhall be neceſſary to underſtand and deliberate upon it, and that you acknowledge the Church for Lady and Superior of the whole world (*por Señora y Superiora del univerſo mundo*), and the high prieſt called Pope, and in his name the King and Queen Doña Juana our lords, in his place, as ſuperiors and lords and kings of theſe iſlands and this Terra Firma by virtue of the ſaid donation, and that you conſent and give place that theſe religious fathers ſhould declare and preach to you the aforeſaid.

" If you do ſo, you will do well, and that which you are obliged to do to their Highneſſes, and

" we in their name ſhall receive you in all love The Re-
" and charity, and ſhall leave you your wives, and quiſition.
" your children, and your lands, free without ſer-
" vitude, that you may do with them and with
" yourſelves freely that which you like and think
" beſt, and they ſhall not compel you to turn
" Chriſtians, unleſs you yourſelves, when informed
" of the truth, ſhould wiſh to be converted to
" our ſacred Catholic faith, as almoſt all the in-
" habitants of the reſt of the iſlands have done.
" And, beſides this, their Highneſſes award you
" many privileges and exemptions" (what a clear idea that muſt have conveyed!) " and will grant
" you many benefits.

" But, if you do not do this, and maliciouſly
" make delay in it, I certify to you that, with
" the help of God, we ſhall powerfully enter into
" your country, and ſhall make war againſt you
" in all ways and manners that we can, and ſhall
" ſubject you to the yoke and obedience of the
" Church and of their Highneſſes; we ſhall take
" you and your wives and your children, and
" ſhall make ſlaves of them, and as ſuch ſhall ſell
" and diſpoſe of them as their Highneſſes may
" command; and we ſhall take away your goods,
" and ſhall do you all the miſchief and damage
" that we can, as to vaſſals who do not obey and

The Requisition.

" refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us. And that we have said this to you and made this Requisition, we request the notary here present to give us his testimony in writing, and we ask the rest who are present that they should be witnesses of this Requisition."

If ever there was a document which it was worth while to give in full in such a narrative as the present, it is this Requisition, drawn up by the learned Doctor Palacios Rubios. The folly that spreads through it, when contrasted with the sagacity which pervades the instructions and the private letters of the King and the Council, is an illustration of how long foolish conceits linger in the halls of learning and among professions, even when they are beginning to be banished from the world at large. I must confess that the comicality of the document has often cheered me in the midst of tedious research, or endless details of small battles. The logic, the history, even the grammatical construction, are all, as it seems to me, alike in error. Stupendous assumptions are the staple of the document, and the very terms, such as " Church,"

"privileges," "vaſſalage," "exemptions," are ſuch as require a knowledge of Chriſtianity and of the peculiar civilization of Europe for any body to underſtand. Then, when it is imagined how little theſe difficulties would be ſmoothed by tranſlation, we may fancy what ideas the reading of the document, even when it was read, conveyed to a number of Indians ſitting in a circle ſquatting on their hams.

The above Requiſition, however, which at leaſt was meant to be very gracious to the Indians, was not neceſſarily to be uſed on all occaſions. There were Indians who might be taken without even the reading of the Requiſition. Theſe were the Caribs, or cannibals. There is an eſpecial paragraph in the inſtructions to Pedrarias devoted to theſe cannibals, in which that governor is ordered to touch, if he can do ſo without delay or inconvenience, at the iſlands of the cannibals, which are named, Iſla Fuerte, Iſla de San Bernaldo, Santa Cruz, Guira, Cartagena, and Camarico de Gó. The inhabitants of theſe "iſlands" (Cartagena was not an iſland) are given as ſlaves becauſe they were ſaid to eat human fleſh, and becauſe of the injuries they were ſaid to have done to the Spaniards and to the other Indians.

This is the weakeſt part, according to my judg-

ment, of the whole of the policy of thoſe who ruled over Indian affairs at the Court of Spain. Who was to define cannibaliſm? And would not the modes of dealing with the cannibals neceſſarily ſpread to others? And would not any injuries, inflicted on the innocent, read in an official document, as if they were all right, by the eaſy introduction of the word cannibal? I had come to the concluſion that cannibals and thoſe who uſed poiſoned arrows were ſure to be ſet down as one and the ſame people, and I am confirmed by a ſtanza in the works of the old poet and ſoldier, Juan de Caſtellanos, where, ſpeaking of ſome Caribs in the neighbourhood of Santa Martha, he ſays, that they were called Caribs, not becauſe they ate human fleſh, but becauſe they defended their houſes well.*

It is true that in theſe inſtructions it is ordered that, for the ſake of being more entirely in the right, the Requiſition ſhould be read even before proceeding to capture cannibals, if the way of doing ſo can be found; but, if not, they might be captured without any of theſe ceremonies.

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* "Mas al fin fueron á provincia llana
"Que llamaron Caribes, tierra raſa,
"No porque allí comieſen carne humana,
"Mas porque defendian bien ſu caſa."

Elegias, parte 2, canto 3.

Furniſhed, however, with all theſe aids, with wiſe inſtructions, with this groteſque Requiſition, probably with the thoughtful ſuggeſtions given in converſation by the king, or by the Biſhop of Burgos, with an able ſtaff of official men, amongſt whom was one who had had ſuch experience of the country as the Bachiller Enciſo, above all, with a gallant company of fifteen hundred men, armed well and well accoutred,* Pedrarias ſet ſail from the Port of San Lucar, in twelve or fifteen veſſels,† on the twelfth of April 1514. This was one of the greateſt expeditions ſent out to the Indies in thoſe times, and it coſt the King of Spain a very large outlay. Had it been under the command of a wiſe and great man like Columbus, or even of a great commander like Cortes or Vaſco Nuñez, it might have been the beginning of a wiſe colonization of South America; but great means ſeldom come into great hands, or, perhaps, the world would advance too faſt; while, on the contrary, the moſt important and ſucceſsful experiments are moſtly made, like thoſe of great

Pedrarias ſets ſail for Darien.

* "La mas lucida gente que de Eſpaña ha ſalido," ſays one of them, Paſcual de Andagoya.

† Paſcual de Andagoya ſays nineteen veſſels: every other account that I have ſeen makes the number of the veſſels ſmaller.

inventors in mechanics or chemiſtry, with few, ſhabby, and ill-fitting materials.

The armament under Pedrarias was at its firſt outſet driven back by a great ſtorm and obliged to refit, but afterwards met with little diſaſter, and not with much adventure, in its voyage. Before reaching Darien, they entered the harbour of Santa Martha on the mainland, where, according to one account, the Indians, who were now well aware of the nature of their viſitors, entering into the ſea as far as they could wade, diſcharged their poiſoned arrows at the ſhips, and thus killed two men. Pedrarias ordered a ſally, and headed it himſelf. The Indians fled, and the Spaniards carried off the Indian women and children, and deſpoiled their habitations. Another account ſays that Pedrarias, "wanting to know the ſecret of "the land"* (ſince the creation of the world fine words have never been wanting for queſtionable tranſactions), diſembarked all his men, and made an attack on an Indian town, which he deſpoiled. Afterwards, however, it appears that Pedrarias let ſome of the captives go free. As yet, perhaps, the king's orders to be kind to the Indians were

* "Quiſo ſaber el ſecreto de la tierra."

not forgotten. Purſuing its courſe weſtward the Expedition touched at the Iſla Fuerte, and afterwards, entering the Gulf of Urabá, made its way to the new ſettlement of Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien.

Immediately on the arrival of the fleet in the Gulf of Urabá, Pedrarias ſent a meſſenger to Vaſco Nuñez to inform him of his arrival. The meſſenger did not find Vaſco Nuñez ſurrounded by any of the uſual ſigns of power and ſplendour, but clothed in a cotton ſhirt, looſe drawers and ſandals, overlooking and helping ſome Indians to put a ſtraw thatch on a houſe. On hearing the meſſage, Vaſco Nuñez, who had no doubt well conſidered his part, ſent a reſpectful welcome to the new governor, and ſaid that the coloniſts were ready to receive him. The little colony now conſiſted of four hundred and fifty ſoldiers, men inured to danger, and, to uſe the expreſſive words of the original, "tanned with labours." It is ſaid that there was much diſcuſſion amongſt them in what way they ſhould receive Pedrarias; and the hiſtorian Herrera thinks, but not juſtly, as it ſeems to me, that theſe four hundred and fifty men could have maſtered the fifteen hundred, whom Pedrarias brought with him. In a month's time this might have been ſo; but at

preſent theſe fifteen hundred men, being choſen perſons, in the beſt ſpirit, admirably equipped, and with the terror of the king's name, would have ſcattered Vaſco Nuñez's men like chaff before the wind. Vaſco Nuñez's counſels of peace prevailed, and it was agreed that they ſhould go out unarmed, and in the peaceful dreſs of magiſtrates, not of ſoldiers. The new coloniſts therefore—one of them certainly with a heavy heart, but all with apparent joyfulneſs,—came out to meet their countrymen, ſinging the "Te Deum." Pedrarias landed and billeted his men.

Pedrarias lands at Darien.

It is a cuſtom, I believe, even in our own times, that the miniſter coming in ſhould have a long conference with the miniſter going out, and, if this is requiſite in ſettled countries, it was far more ſo in thoſe new-found ſtates, where the inhabitants, the climate, the proviſions, the geography, and the mode of warfare were all unknown to the new comers. On the day after his arrival, Pedrarias ſummoned Vaſco Nuñez to his preſence, and, with gracious words reſpecting the appreciation of Vaſco's ſervices which was now entertained at court, requeſted him to give an exact account of this new land, and of the men who inhabited it. Vaſco Nuñez replied fittingly to this courteſy, and promiſed to give an account

in writing, which he did in the courſe of two days, and which contained the whole narrative of his adminiſtration that had now continued for three years. He alſo deſcribed the rivers, fiſſures (*quebradas*) and mountains where he had found gold, the Caciques he had made allies of (theſe were more than twenty), and his journey of diſcovery to the South Sea and to the "Rich Iſle," as it was called, of pearls.

The firſt thing after this to be done, was to take the *reſidencia** of Vaſco Nuñez, the reſult of which was, that for the injuries done to Enciſo and others, he was condemned to pay ſeveral thouſand caſtellanos, and was put into confinement, but afterwards, in conſideration of his ſervices, was ſet free.

Vaſco Nuñez put into confinement.

The next thing was to prepare to make ſettlements in the territories of Comogre, Poncha, and Pocoroſa, as Vaſco Nuñez had written to adviſe the king, when he was ſuggeſting the expedition to diſcover the South Sea. While preparation was being made for theſe expeditions, Pedrarias's people began to fall idle. The ſituation of Darien was very unhealthy, and the new-comers not only ſuffered from the effects of the climate, but from

* A Spaniſh phraſe—meaning ſomething like impeachment, only that to take a *reſidencia* was a cuſtomary thing.

Terrible famine at Darien.

thoſe of ſheer hunger. On diſembarking, the proviſions brought by the fleet had been divided amongſt the men, but the flour and the greateſt part of the proviſions were found to have been ſpoilt by the ſea. The old coloniſts were not in any way prepared for ſuch an acceſſion to their numbers, and there were no neighbouring Indians who might aſſiſt in ſuch an emergency. The expedition had thus failed into the very jaws of famine. Men in ſilks and brocades abſolutely periſhed of hunger, and might be ſeen feeding like cattle upon herbage. One of the principal hidalgos went through the ſtreet, ſaying that he was periſhing of hunger, and in ſight of the whole town dropt down dead. In leſs than a month ſeven hundred men periſhed. Pedrarias himſelf was taken ill, and by the advice of phyſicians, went to a ſtation at a little diſtance from the town. All theſe misfortunes delayed the expeditions, and probably indiſpoſed the minds of men for the adventure they had come upon.* They muſt have felt diſappointed and deſperate, and therefore were ready for any cruelty.

Juan de Ayora's Expedition.

One of the firſt of his captains whom Pedrarias ſent out was Juan de Ayora with four hundred

* Some of the principal men were allowed to return to Spain, and they came to Cuba, as will afterwards be ſeen.

men in a ſhip and three caravels, to get gold and to make ſettlements by building fortreſſes in Comogre's country and in that of Pocoroſa and Tubanamá. Juan de Ayora proved to be a terrible tyrant. The friendly Caciques Comogre, Poncha, and Pocoroſa, who had been very dutiful to Vaſco Nuñez, came with their gold to this new Spaniſh chief; but their people were haraſſed and made ſlaves, and their wives were carried off. The ſame thing happened to Tubanamá, who, being more valorous and powerful, took to arms, but without avail. Juan de Ayora ſought to deal with a Cacique called Sacativa, as he had done with the reſt; but this Indian chief, whoſe territories were on the ſea-ſhore, having put the women and children in ſafety, deſerted his town, and lay hid in ambuſcade. When the Spaniards landed, he made an attack upon them, and wounded Juan de Ayora, who reſolved to revenge himſelf on Pocoroſa's territory—where he had built a town called Santa Cruz—and would have done ſo on Pocoroſa himſelf, had not a friendly Spaniard, named Eſlava, warned Pocoroſa, who ſought ſafety in flight. For this timely notice given by Eſlava, when it was diſcovered, he narrowly eſcaped hanging at the hands of Juan de Ayora.

The Licentiate Zuazo, a diſtinguiſhed lawyer

who was ſent by Ximenes a few years afterwards to the Weſt Indies, deſcribes graphically the dealings of this Spaniſh captain, Juan de Ayora, with one of the friendly Caciques. On the approach of the Spaniards, the Indians, ſuppoſing it was their old friend Vaſco Nuñez, made great preparations with roaſt meat, game, bread and wine to entertain him. When Juan de Ayora arrived, he and his men ſat down to this repaſt. "But "where is the tiba," ſaid the Cacique (*tiba* was their name for chief)? upon which Juan de Ayora was pointed out to him; but he replied, this was not the "tiba," for he knew Vaſco Nuñez well. The poor Cacique was ſoon to underſtand the difference more clearly; for after dinner Juan de Ayora ſent for him, and ordered him to give gold, unleſs he wiſhed to be burnt, or thrown to the dogs. The Cacique ſent for a little gold that he had, and preſented it. This did not ſatisfy the Spaniſh captain. Then the wretched Cacique, who was bound, deſired his vaſſals to bring all the gold that they had; but, when it was brought, Juan de Ayora was ſtill diſſatisfied with the quantity, and demanded more. The Cacique begged that the Spaniard would be content, as he had given all the gold he had; but Juan de Ayora, with all the relentleſs rage of a robber who finds

ſmaller booty than he expected, cauſed the unhappy Indian to be burnt.* By ſuch doings, or at leaſt by the moſt wanton rapine, he ſucceeded in obtaining a large quantity of gold; but neither the king, nor Pedrarias, nor the expedition, was any the better for this gold, as Juan de Ayora took ſhip, and, furtively making off with all his ill-gotten plunder, was not heard of more. "In all "the turmoils that have taken place beyond ſea, "nothing has diſpleaſed me ſo much as this man's "avarice, which has thus diſturbed the minds of "the chiefs, which before were at peace with us." Thus does the honeſt and out-ſpeaking Peter Martyr expreſs himſelf, who, although he was a friend to Pedrarias, did not heſitate to throw ſome ſuſpicion in the matter upon that governor, for which, however, there does not appear to be the ſlighteſt foundation.

As for Juan de Ayora's colony at Santa Cruz, it met with the fate which its founder and his doings deſerved. The Spaniards there gave the greateſt offence to the ſurrounding Indians. Pocoroſa and his people came down upon the ſettlement in the dead of the night: the Indians and Spaniards had a deſperate encounter, and when

* Documentos inéditos para la hiſtoria de Eſpaña, t. 2, p. 360.

morning broke, there were only five left of the Spaniards, who, flying, bore the news of their defeat to Darien. The town of Santa Cruz was not in existence more than six months.

Enciso enters Cenú.

The next enterprise worth mentioning is that which Pedrarias entrusted to the Bachiller Enciso, sending him also into the territory of Cenú. The Bachiller, as a man learned in the law, could not comport himself after the fashion of rude captains, but, before making any attack upon the Indians, he duly read to them that long Requisition drawn up by Dr. Palacios Rubios. It may be noted, I think, in the course of this narrative, that the men of education always behave a little better than the rest. Enciso's account of the effect of reading this Requisition, which he gives in a simple, innocent way, is very interesting. Making his appeal to two of the Caciques of Cenú, he tells them the whole story of the world, as written in the Requisition—How there was one God, three and one, who governed the Heavens and the earth: and how He had come into the world and had left in his place Saint Peter; and how Saint Peter had left, as successor, the Pope, as Lord of the universe; and how, as such Lord, the Pope had given this land of the Indies and

Cenú to the King of Caſtile. All this being premiſed, it was eaſy to ſhow that obedience was to be inſtantly rendered to him, the Bachiller Enciſo, as one of the captains of the King of Caſtile. But the Caciques took an objection, to uſe a lawyer's phraſe, to Enciſo's hiſtory. "They replied "to him," he tells us, "that, with reſpect to what "I ſaid about there being but one God, and that "he governed the Heaven and the earth, and was "Lord of all things, that it ſeemed good to them, "and ſo it muſt be; but that in what I ſaid about "the Pope being the Lord of all the univerſe in "the place of God, and that he had given the "land of the Indies to the King of Caſtile, the "Pope muſt have been drunk when he did it, for "he gave what was not his;* alſo, that the king, "who aſked for, or received, this gift, muſt be "ſome madman (*algun loco*), for that he aſked to "have that given him which belonged to others; "and they added, that, ſhould he come there to "take it, they would put his head on a ſtake. "They were lords of this country, and there was "no need of any other."

Upon this bold anſwer, Enciſo proceeded in

* "Dijeron que el Papa debia eſtar borracho cuando lo hizo, "pues daba lo que no era ſuyo."—ENCISO, *Suma de Geographia.*

his formal way to expound to them the threatenings of the Requiſition; to which they only replied, that they would put his head on a ſtake,—a threat which, as he ſays, they tried to carry into effect, but he was too ſtrong for them, and put them to flight, though they made a vigorous reſiſtance. Afterwards he captured one of theſe Caciques; and Enciſo mentions, that the Cacique was a man of much truth, who kept his word, and that evil ſeemed to him evil, and good, good; by which the Bachiller means, that they thought alike on many points of law and morality. To us, who are byſtanders, as it were, it ſeems a ſad pity to have deſtroyed by force the polity which had brought ſuch a man as this Cacique to the head of affairs in his tribe; and we cannot help thinking that the ſpeech of the two Caciques of Cenú, ſtripped of its rudeneſs, was ſomewhat of an anſwer to the demands of both Pope and King.

No further information is given by Enciſo of this expedition to Cenú; and it needed not his ſilence to convince us of the unprofitable nature of the undertaking.

Amongſt other expeditions fitted out by Pedrarias, there is one which deſerves mention, and

at the head of which was a certain Gaſpar de Morales. This captain was ſent to the South Sea, to find pearls in the iſlands called Tezaregui, ſituated in the Gulf of San Miguel—the chief iſland being that one renowned for pearls, which Vaſco Nuñez, after diſcovering the South Sea, had been anxious to viſit, but was diſſuaded from doing ſo by his friend Chiapes. The force which Gaſpar de Morales had at his command conſiſted of eighty men—that is, eighty Spaniards, for in all theſe expeditions there was generally a numerous retinue of Indians.

Morales is ſent to the Gulf of San Miguel.

On his way to the Gulf of San Miguel, Morales met with another of the captains of Pedrarias, named Becerra, who was laden with gold, and accompanied by ſlaves taken from the territories of thoſe Caciques who had been friendly to Vaſco Nuñez, and who had received Becerra, as if he, too, were a friend. Morales purſued a like ſyſtem of devaſtation with that of Becerra, gleaning what ſpoil he could after the devaſtation made by his brother officer. On one particular occaſion, which may ſerve to illuſtrate the proceedings of Morales, he and his men came upon an Indian town in the midſt of ſome feſtivity. It was the cuſtom in theſe feſtivals for the men and the women to ſit apart. The followers of Morales

thought this a good opportunity for capturing female prisoners; they, therefore, seized the Indian women present, and carried them off, the men making the most desperate efforts to rescue their wives and daughters, but without avail. This mode of converting the Indians to Christianity—for we must recollect that, according to the tenor of King Ferdinand's instructions, it was to protect missionaries that these bands of armed men were employed—naturally aroused the most deadly hatred in the Indians. They formed a great conspiracy to destroy Morales, in which no fewer than twenty Caciques were engaged. Unfortunately, amongst the conspirators there was a Cacique accompanying the principal body of Spaniards, for at that time they happened to be divided into two or three parties. This Cacique was informed of the partial success of the conspiracy, that is, of the Indians having destroyed ten Spaniards who were separated from the main body, upon which he instantly fled during the night. Morales, with his suspicions awakened by this sudden flight, ordered pursuit to be made after the fugitive Cacique, who, being taken, and the torture being applied to him, confessed what he knew. By means of the intelligence thus obtained, the Spanish commander was enabled to defeat the

plans of the conſpirators. Falling at daybreak upon the united forces of the Indians, when they were quite unprepared for ſuch an attack, he put them to flight, and, afterwards capturing twenty Caciques, he deſtroyed them by giving them to his dogs to tear to pieces. All this took place on the return of Morales from the iſlands to which he had been ſent, where he had been received in the moſt friendly manner, and had obtained a great number of moſt valuable pearls.

By the failure of this conſpiracy and the ſlaughter of the Caciques, Morales probably felt more at his eaſe, and, inſtead of returning at once to Darien, he directed his courſe to the territories of a Cacique, called Biru, at the eaſtern end of the gulf of San Miguel. This Cacique was ſaid to be very warlike and very rich. It is conjectured to have been from a corruption of his name that the great kingdom of Peru was ſo called.

In ſuch a caſe as this, where a really warlike chief was to be attacked, it is not probable that the reading of the Requiſition was a very public and formal one. Indeed, Las Caſas ſays, that, in general, the Spaniards approached the Indian towns marching ſilently, and halting about midnight, when thoſe primæval foreſts muſt have been witneſſes to ſtrange ſcenes. For then they

read to themſelves and the trees* the Requiſition (the groteſque is ſeldom far removed from the terrible !), no doubt muttering very faſt the well-known words, " Caciques and Indians of the town " of ſo and ſo, we give you to know how there is " one God, &c. &c. ; and how he left our holy " Pope as univerſal Lord, &c. &c. ; and how the " holy Pope gave to the kings of Caſtile," &c. &c. ; and thus, having gabbled through the document, they reſumed ſilence till they burſt upon the Indian town with the cry of " Santiago," a word which I do not find in the Requiſition, though it is the word which muſt often have been the firſt and the only Spaniſh one the Indians lived to hear.

The warlike Cacique Biru, though he was attacked by night and his town was ſet fire to, was not conquered. He fled at firſt, but then turned upon the Spaniards, and fought with them for a whole day, the reſult appearing doubtful. The Spaniards were at laſt victorious, but it was too hardly earned a victory to profit much by, and they did not ſtay in Biru's country. Meanwhile the people of the twenty ſlaughtered Caciques united together, and preſſed Morales hard,

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* Entre ſi leian el requirimiento á los árboles.

as he was making his way back to Darien. To free himſelf, the Spaniſh commander had recourſe to a moſt cruel expedient. He ſtabbed his Indian captives at intervals as he went along, hoping thus to occupy the purſuing Indians. This incident is alluded to in becoming terms of indignation by Vaſco Nuñez, now a critical obſerver of other men's doings, in a letter to the king, where he ſays that a more cruel deed was never heard of among Moors, Chriſtians, or any other people.* At laſt Morales and his men, having fought their way with immenſe valour, if ſuch a word can be juſtly uſed to ſuch men, and having had the moſt frightful difficulties and ſufferings to contend with from the nature of the country they paſſed through, reached Darien. Pizarro was in this expedition, and ſeems to have been employed as ſecond in command. It was a terrible ſchool which the future conqueror of Peru was brought up in.

Cruelty of Morales.

The governor of Darien continued to ſend out expeditions ſuch as thoſe of Morales, which are painful to read of, and tireſome to relate, and

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* "Una crueldad la mayor que nunca ſe ha hecho entre alára-
"bes y criſtianos, ni otra ninguna generacion."—NAV. *Col. de Viag.* tom. 3, p. 378.

which, when they brought back much gold and many ſlaves, were ſtill, even in the views of ſtateſmen of that time, unfortunate, as they founded nothing, and led to nothing except to a profound hatred in thoſe parts, of the name and nation of the Spaniards.

Becerra's expedition.

The next expedition of note that Pedrarias ſent out was led by Becerra, the ſame man whom Morales met, as he was going out upon his expedition to the Pearl iſlands, and who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ravages he had made in the territories of the Caciques formerly in ſtrict alliance with Vaſco Nuñez. Becerra was not only well furniſhed with men, but carried with him all the apparatus of war; amongſt which were pieces of artillery capable of throwing large balls, large for that time at leaſt, "as big," we are told, "as "an egg." Becerra's deſtination was Cenú, a territory familiar to us as the ſcene of the Bachiller Enciſo's ſingular converſation with the two Caciques: the reaſon why all this apparatus which Becerra carried with him was conſidered particularly requiſite on this occaſion was that he had to carry on war with the Caribs.* We know, how-

* "Ad bellum Caribibus in ipſa Caribana gerendum verſus "vicum Turufy."—PET. MARTYR, 323.

ever, that it led to no good reſult. After hearing ſo often of the deſtruction and diſperſion of the Indians, that, in general, each ſtory ſeems but a counterpart of the one that came before it, it is a comfort to find occaſionally that they have a great ſucceſs. It was ſo in this caſe. Not one of Becerra's men returned to tell the tale of the total deſtruction which this expedition met with. One Indian youth alone made his way back to Darien, half-dead with hunger; and he told the governor of the fate of Becerra and his company.

The Indians victorious.

The ſtory was, that Becerra had entered by unknown ways into this province of Cenú, which Enciſo with all legal forms had duly ravaged, and where, therefore, the Indians were fully prepared to receive ſuch theological inſtruction as was commonly ſent to them by the biſhop and the governor of Darien. Accordingly they wounded Becerra's men with poiſoned arrows, they embarraſſed the ways with felled timber, and finally, uſing the arts of diſſimulation as well as of war, they contrived, when aſſiſting Becerra's men to croſs a great river, to deſtroy them all. It was one of the few chances ſtill remaining for the Indians in their warfare, that it ſhould be in or near water, in which element they were far more at

home than the Spaniards were: and this exemplifies that complete saying of Napoleon upon the art of war, that it is "the art of being strongest "at a given place at a given time."

The late expeditions had been so manifestly unsuccessful, that the governor of Darien began to take the state of affairs much to heart. He ordered the melting-house, "*Casa de la Fondicion*," to be closed, a most clear signal of distress: he also, in conjunction with the bishop, ordered public prayers to be offered up, that God might remove his anger from them; but I do not find that any change of policy took place in accordance with those prayers, unless it was that the next expedition, commanded by Gonzalo de Badajoz, seems to have been sent out in a different direction from the other ones, namely to Nombre de Dios, and thence to the South Sea. Badajoz behaved like the rest of the captains, and succeeded in obtaining an immense quantity of money (eighty thousand castellanos, it is said), but lost it all by the cunning device of an Indian Cacique, named Paris, who contrived by false intelligence to direct the attention of Badajoz to another quarter, while he attacked and pillaged the station where Badajoz had left his gold. This expedition also

muſt have reached Darien in very diſconſolate mood, and could not have brought much comfort to the governor's mind.

The laſt that I ſhall mention, and one of the moſt memorable, of Pedrarias's expeditions, was that ſent out under his Alcalde Mayor, Eſpinoſa. In this expedition there went a Franciſcan monk, called Franciſco de San Roman. He wrote a letter to Father Pedro de Cordova, the head of the Dominicans, which letter the Father gave to Las Caſas, and in which San Roman begged that Pedro de Cordova, for the love of God, would ſpeak to the authorities at St. Domingo, and put it as a matter of conſcience to them, to provide a remedy for the Terra Firma which thoſe tyrants were deſtroying. Afterwards the Franciſcan returned to Spain, and, when he was at Seville in the College of San Tomás, of the order of the Dominicans, he ſtated that he had ſeen with his own eyes, killed by the ſword, or thrown to ſavage dogs, in this expedition of Eſpinoſa's, above forty thouſand ſouls.* This ſeems almoſt incredible; but let no one doubt it, or imagine that he can

Eſpinoſa's expedition, 40,000 Indians deſtroyed.

* "Que habia viſto por ſus ojos matar á eſpada y echar á Perros bravos en eſte viaje de Eſpinoſa ſobre cuarenta mil ánimas."—Las Casas, lib. 3, tom. 1, cap. 71.

realize to his mind what ſuch an expedition would be capable of, until he has fully pictured to himſelf what his own nature might become, if he formed one of ſuch a band, toiling in a new fierce clime, enduring miſeries unimagined by him before, gradually giving up all civilized ways, growing more and more indifferent to the deſtruction of life—the life of animals, of his adverſaries, of his companions, even his own — retaining the adroitneſs and ſagacity of man, and becoming fell, reckleſs and rapacious as the fierceſt brute of the foreſt. Not more different the ſea, when ſome midſummer morning, it comes, with its criſp, delicate little waves, fondling up to your feet, like your own dog—and the ſame ſea, when ſtorm-ridden, it thunders in againſt you with foam and fury like a wild beaſt, than is the ſimpering, proſperous, civilized man, reſtrained by a thouſand inviſible fetters, who has not known real hunger for years, from the ſame man when he has ſtarved and fought and bled, been alternately frozen and burnt up, and when his life in fact has become one mad, blinding conteſt with all around him.

Eſpinoſa's expedition, however murderous, being compoſed of ſuch men as have been juſt deſcribed, was not unſucceſsful in the way in which ſucceſs was then reckoned, for he recovered the

gold which Badajoz had loſt, and brought back eighty thouſand peſos, and two thouſand ſlaves. We are aſſured of this on the authority of an earlier hiſtorian than Las Caſas,* and his words are the following, " He, Eſpinoſa, brought with him two " thouſand captives, which, for carrying to Hiſpa- " niola, were then worth much money. Thence " grew that rapid as well as miſerable diminution " which theſe wretched nations ſuffered, ſince, " from deſire for the gold which the merchants " gave for theſe ſlaves in Darien, all the time that " they were outſide the walls of that city, both " thoſe acquired in peace as well as thoſe taken " in war, were put in irons." † Speaking, probably, of this ſame expedition of Eſpinoſa's, one of the captains in it, Paſcual de Andagoya, ſays, that they returned with ſuch a number of ſlaves, that they were obliged to make two days' journey of ſuch a ſhort diſtance as three or four leagues; and he adds, that " all this company of ſlaves

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* Diego de la Tovilla, Hiſtoria Barbárica.

† " Traia largos dos mil captivos, que para llevarlos los merca- " dantes á la Eſpañola valian entonces muchos dineros. De donde " nació la tan preſta como miſerable caida que eſta infelices Gen- " tes dieron, pues con la cudicia del mucho oro que por ellos en el " Darien los tratantes les daban todo el tiempo que fuera de ſus " muros ſe veian aſi al de paz como al de guerra ponian en hier- " ros."—Las Casas, lib. 3, tom. 1, cap. 72.

" periſhed at Darien as did all the reſt who were " brought there."* This ſtatement is inconſiſtent with that of Tovilla, juſt referred to; but I have no doubt that the contradiction between theſe two witneſſes is but one of place, and that the truth is, that all the ſlaves in queſtion periſhed rapidly, ſome at Darien and ſome at Hiſpaniola.

Throughout theſe expeditions in the Terra Firma, which would elſe perhaps be as intereſting as they are important, the reader is vexed and diſtracted by new and uncouth names of people and of places. The very words Rome, Conſtantinople, London, Genoa, Venice, ſtir the blood and arreſt the attention: any ſmall incident in their fortunes enjoys ſome of the accumulated intereſt which is bound up with theſe time-honoured names; while it requires an effort of imagination to care about what may happen to Comogra, Dabaybe, Poncha, or Pocoroſa. It is only on perceiving the immenſe importance of thoſe events which happen in the early days of new-found countries, that we can ſufficiently arouſe our attention to conſider ſuch events at all.

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* " La cual con toda la demas que al Darien fué, acabó alli ſus " dias."—Nav. *Col. de Viag.* tom. 3, p. 413.

Then, however, we may ſee that the fate of future empires, and the diſtribution of races over the face of the earth depend upon the painful deeds of a few adventurers and unrenowned native chieftains — they themſelves being like players, whoſe names and private fortunes we do not care much about, but who are acting in ſome great drama, the ſtory of which concerns the whole world.

CHAPTER IV.

The Fate of Vasco Nuñez.

WHILE narrating the fate of these expeditions, nothing has been said of the doings of Vasco Nuñez, or of the dealings of Pedrarias with one whom he was naturally inclined to look upon as a rival, and to treat as an enemy. Many and severe must have been the comparisons made by the men who had served under Vasco Nuñez, between the successful mode in which he had alternately soothed and terrified the Indian Caciques, and the unsuccessful manner in which the captains of Pedrarias had prosecuted their disastrous adventures. For some time it appears that Vasco Nuñez remained an unemployed man, and, as we find from his letters to the king, a very discontented and critical observer. He resolved to undertake an expedition of his own, and sent secretly to Cuba for men to accompany him in peopling the coasts of the Southern Sea.

It was, perhaps, at the solicitation of the Bishop

of Darien, or it might have been from motives of policy, that the governor reſolved at this period to employ Vaſco Nuñez in making an entrance (a favourite phraſe of the Spaniards) into the country of Dabaybe, of which Vaſco had written great accounts to the Court of Spain. If he ſucceeded in this enterpriſe, the governor would ſhare in his ſucceſs: if he failed, the governor would gain, at leaſt in credit, by any failure of an undertaking conducted by Vaſco Nuñez. And fail he did, for the very ſame reaſon alluded to in our notice of a recent expedition; namely, that he encountered the Indians on an element in which they were naturally the maſters. Attacking him on the water they were completely ſucceſsful, and Vaſco Nuñez himſelf was wounded and eſcaped with difficulty. The failure, alſo, of proviſions prevented him from making any ſtay in Dabaybe's country which had been recently ſtripped by locuſts.* Vaſco Nuñez could not induce Dabaybe, whoſe principal town he had ſeized upon, to come near him, and he had nothing to do but to return to Darien with confirmed intelligence of the mineral wealth of the country he had traverſed, but with no viſible ſigns of treaſure. It may be ima-

Vaſco Nuñez is defeated in Dabaybe.

* See his letter to the king; Nav. *Col. de Viages*, vol. 3, p. 381.

gined what joy this ill ſucceſs muſt have given to the captains of Pedrarias, and probably to the governor himſelf.

It was mentioned ſome time back that Vaſco Nuñez, ſoon after his diſcovery of the South Sea, had ſent a man named Arbolanche to the court of Spain with the good news, and with rich preſents. This meſſenger did not come in time to ſtop the appointment of Pedrarias, but the tidings which Arbolanche brought were well received; and the king not only pardoned Vaſco Nuñez, but conferred upon him the title of Adelantado. Hitherto it had been the faſhion at the court of Spain to ſpeak very ſlightingly of Vaſco Nuñez, but this intelligence of the diſcovery of the South Sea, the greateſt that had reached Spain ſince Columbus had brought back the tidings and the ſigns of a new world, muſt have changed in great meaſure the opinions of the king and of the Court reſpecting Vaſco Nuñez. And the good opinion they now entertained of him would be likely to increaſe rather than to diminiſh, when men came to reflect upon the nature of his diſcoveries, and the mode in which he had followed them out.

It was probably about the time that Pedrarias had ſent the Bachiller Enciſo to Cenú, that the title of Adelantado came out for Vaſco Nuñez.

Joined with this title, the government of Coyva and Panamá was alſo granted to him. Coyva is a ſmall iſland where Vaſco Nuñez thought that there were pearls. The king did not omit to endeavour to make Pedrarias and Vaſco Nuñez act harmoniouſly together, recommending the governor to ſhow all kindneſs to ſo uſeful a ſervant of the Crown as Vaſco Nuñez, and Vaſco Nuñez to endeavour to pleaſe Pedrarias as much as poſſible. But, as one of Vaſco Nuñez's biographers obſerves, "that which was eaſy at Court was im-" poſſible at Darien, where factions prevented it."

Not long after this time, Andres Garavito, the man whom Vaſco Nuñez had ſent to Cuba to negotiate for him there, returning to Darien with ſeventy men and all the neceſſary proviſions for an expedition, came to place himſelf under the orders of Vaſco Nuñez. Garavito, when at ſix leagues from the port, ſent ſecretly to adviſe Vaſco Nuñez of his arrival; but the intelligence alſo reaching the ears of Pedrarias, cauſed the utmoſt offence to that jealous governor, who gave orders that Vaſco Nuñez ſhould be taken and put in priſon. At the entreaty, however, of the Biſhop of Darien, the governor did not put Vaſco Nuñez in priſon, but ſet him free on certain conditions which were arranged between them.

It ſeems that Vaſco Nuñez was now left for ſome time in neglect, and might have remained ſo, but for the interpoſition of the Biſhop of Darien, between whom and Vaſco Nuñez a ſtrong friendſhip or alliance had ſprung up. I imagine that the biſhop, himſelf a man of ability, recognized the abilities of Vaſco Nuñez. However that may be, the biſhop ſucceeded in making Vaſco Nuñez and the governor friends; and he propoſed to cement this friendſhip by the ſtrongeſt family bonds, ſuggeſting that Pedrarias ſhould give his daughter in marriage to Vaſco Nuñez. This was, no doubt, a wiſe ſtep to take; the governor aſſented; and the eſpouſals were formally made, the young lady herſelf being in Spain. It does not appear, however, that either Pedrarias or his intended ſon-in-law was in a great hurry for the marriage to be ſolemnized; and it is probable that the attachment of Vaſco Nuñez to one of his Indian captives rendered him very indifferent about the marriage, except as a matter of policy.

Vaſco Nuñez and Pedrarias come to terms.

The rivals being now reconciled, or appearing to be ſo, were at liberty to puſh their united fortunes forward with vigour. Pedrarias ſent Vaſco Nuñez to occupy a town in the port of Acla (founded by Gabriel Rojas, one of Pedrarias's captains, and afterwards abandoned for fear of

the neighbouring Indians,) from whence he was to prepare to embark upon the South ſea. Acla, however, as may be ſeen in the map, is on this ſide of South America, and it was the bold, I may add the cruel, ſcheme, conſidering the number of lives that were loſt, of Vaſco Nuñez, to prepare for the conſtruction of his veſſels at Acla, and to carry the materials overland to the South ſea. When arrived at Acla, Vaſco Nuñez, who almoſt always ſhowed himſelf a true commander, took care to order each of his men, with the ſlaves which he had, and with his own hands, to till the ground, that they might be ſure of ſuſtenance.

Vaſco Nuñez prepares to embark on the South Sea.

Juſt at that period it happened that Eſpinoſa and his men, with all their riches and their ſlaves, came to Acla, on their return to Darien. The ſhrewd Vaſco knew at once that when theſe men, accuſtomed to an adventurous life, had reached Darien, and had divided the ſpoil, they would ſoon begin to tire of inactivity. He accordingly followed them to Darien, and contrived to bring back with him to Acla two hundred of them, the governor favouring his intended ſon-in-law.

Vaſco Nuñez and his men now began the terrible labour of their undertaking, which was to cut wood and faſhion it at Acla, thence to convey

it acroſs the ſierras to the river Valſa, there to conſtruct four brigantines, and thence to launch them on the South ſea, to purſue a grand career laden with riches and diſcoveries.

One of the firſt things to be done, was to make a ſtation on the top of the ſierras, where thoſe might reſt who had to bring up the burden of the building materials, wood, iron, and cordage. For this purpoſe Vaſco Nuñez ſent a man called Compañon with ſome Spaniards and thirty negroes. How theſe thirty negroes came to be under the orders of Vaſco Nuñez, is rather ſurpriſing. I ſuppoſe they muſt have been imported from Hiſpaniola. If ſo, it ſhows that there was a greater number of negroes there at that time than has ever been imagined. But it has occurred to me, that it is juſt poſſible that theſe negroes were taken from that tribe which was found ſo unaccountably in this very region of South America, cloſe to Quarequa's country.

When the ſtation was made on the top of the ſierra, Vaſco Nuñez had the wood carried up there immediately. From Acla to this ſtation it was twelve leagues of terrible road, with mountains and rivers, which latter, being of the nature of mountain torrents, were now ſhallows, now floods. In encountering this ſtupendous labour, five hun-

dred Indians periſhed. This fact appears in a ſtatement which Vaſco Nuñez's friend, the Biſhop of Darien, made afterwards at the Court of Spain.*

As the Indians died, Vaſco Nuñez ſent companies to impreſs other Indians for the terrible labour. It may be noticed that no ſingle Spaniard or negro is ſaid to have periſhed of this work, in which the Indians died by hundreds.

After all the wood had been tranſported in this painful manner to the river Valſa, Vaſco Nuñez divided his company into three parties: one to cut wood; the ſecond, to bring from Acla the iron-work and cordage for the ſhips; the third, to get proviſions in the neighbouring country, and to capture Indians. A great misfortune now fell upon Vaſco Nuñez and his people, which it were to be wiſhed had occurred a little earlier, while the Indians were bringing the wood over the mountains. This wood, when it was already formed and faſhioned, and ſome of it probably on the ſtocks, turned out to be eaten through and

* "Yo vi firmado de ſu nombre, del miſmo Obiſpo, en una "relacion que hizo al Emperador en Barcelona el año de quini-"entos y diez y nueve, cuando el de la Tierra firma vino, como "mas largo adelante placiendo á Dios ſerá referido, que habia "muerto el Vaſco Nuñez por hacer los Vergantines quinientos "Indios."—Las Casas.

through with worms. Another time alſo, when the Spaniards were far advanced in their work, and were in the midſt of it, there came ſuddenly upon them a very high tide, which ſwept away part of the wood, buried the reſt in the mud and ſlime, and drove the terrified workmen up into the trees for ſafety. Vaſco Nuñez was not a little diſcouraged by theſe miſhaps. To add to his troubles, the third diviſion of his men had been unſucceſsful in obtaining food, ſo that the whole community ſuffered extremely from hunger, and Vaſco Nuñez himſelf was obliged to live upon ſuch roots of the earth as he could get. "It may "be imagined," ſays Las Caſas, "what the five "or ſix hundred Indians in attendance had to eat."

Labour with which the fleet is built.

The Adelantado, however, did not give up the undertaking, but returned to Acla, whence he ſent to the governor, who gave him freſh men and proviſions. With theſe he returned to the river, and, after incredible labour, contrived to build two brigantines. No ſooner were theſe veſſels finiſhed, than he put to ſea at once in them, and made for the Iſland of Pearls, leaving a part of his company to complete the other two brigantines, which he needed. Thence he proceeded down the coaſt as far as the Puerto de Piñas. The natives of thoſe parts, who had ſuffered from the

cruelties of Morales, came out to battle with Vaſco Nuñez; but he ſoon put them to rout, and deſpoiled them. From thence he returned to the Iſland of Pearls, to cut wood for the two other brigantines. He was alſo in want of iron and pitch, for which commodities he reſolved to ſend to Acla.

Rumours of a new Governor for Darien.

Now it happened that about this time the report had come, that Pedrarias was to be ſuperſeded, and Lope de Soſa appointed governor of the Terra Firma. This, which, ſome time ago, would have been moſt joyous news for Vaſco Nuñez, was now moſt unwelcome, his fortunes and thoſe of his future father-in-law being bound up together. Talking one evening with two friends, one named Valderrabano, and the other a clerigo, by name Rodrigo Perez, about the news of Lope de Soſa's coming, Vaſco Nuñez obſerved, "It "ſeems probable that he is either come, or that "there is news of his approaching arrival; and, "if he is come, Pedrarias, my lord, is no longer "governor, and we are defrauded of our hopes, "and ſuch labours as we have undergone are loſt. "It ſeems to me, therefore, that to get ſome in-"formation about that which we deſire to know, "Francis Garavito had better go to Acla to aſk "for the iron and pitch which we want, and to

" learn if the new governor is come; and if he " is, to return, and we will finiſh our ſhips as beſt " we can, and purſue our enterpriſe; and, what- " ever may happen to us, it is probable that, " whoever may be governor, will receive us well, " for we ſhall aſſiſt and ſerve him. But if Pe- " drarias, my lord, ſhould ſtill be in power, then " Garavito ſhould let him know in what ſtate we " are, and he will provide what we want, and " then we ſhall ſet off on our voyage, of which, " I hope in God, the ſucceſs for us will be ſuch " as we ſo much deſire."

This was very innocent converſation, that is, if it had been reported fully. It happened, however, that, as Vaſco Nuñez was talking, it began to rain, and that the ſentinel whoſe duty it was to keep guard at his quarters (*la guarda-perſona*) took ſhelter under the eaves of the hut where Vaſco and his friends were ſitting; and this ſentinel heard juſt ſo much of the converſation as would convey to him the idea that Vaſco Nuñez propoſed to his companions to go away with the ſhips, and make the expedition on their own account. This way of concluding from a ſmall portion of what is heard or underſtood, is, no doubt, a daily cauſe of the largeſt miſrepreſentations and miſtakes. The ſentinel keeps, for the preſent,

what he has heard, and what he thinks he underſtands, to himſelf.

Meanwhile, Pedrarias had heard from Andres Garavito that Vaſco Nuñez intended to free himſelf from allegiance to his ſuperior in command. Upon this intelligence the ſuſpicious and irritable old man goes to Acla, and finds there Francis Garavito, who, in accordance with the intentions of Vaſco Nuñez, expreſſed that wet evening to his friends, had been ſent to Acla to get what was wanted for the ſhips, and to make out the news from Spain. He ſucceeds in ſoothing the governor's ſuſpicions, but, unluckily for Vaſco Nuñez, an enemy of his, Alonſo Martel, got intelligence, either from the ſentinel, or perhaps from ſome one who had accompanied Francis Garavito, of what the ſentinel thought he had heard. Alonſo Martel carries this news to Pedrarias, and the rage and ſuſpicions of the governor, which had often been ſoothed or ſuppreſſed, now burſt out with uncontrollable vehemence.

It muſt be allowed that Pedrarias had all along good reaſons, or rather reaſonable motives, for diſliking and ſuſpecting Vaſco Nuñez. The incompetent, when in power, diſlike the competent who are looking on, hating them for all the comments they imagine them to be making. And in

this caſe there was no imagination in the queſtion, for, in a letter, which is extant, from Vaſco Nuñez to the king, which bears date the ſixteenth of October, 1515, there are the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of blame reſpecting the conduct of the government and the character of the governor. Vaſco Nuñez, with all the bitterneſs of a man who ſees the reſults of his beſt labours ſullied and deſpoiled, tells the king of the atrocities committed by the captains of Pedrarias; of their turning friendly Indians into watchful enemies, ravaging the country, branding ſlaves in the moſt reckleſs manner, and deſolating the land to ſuch an extent, that, as he juſtly propheſies, hereafter it will not be poſſible to find a remedy for it. He ſpeaks of the confuſion in the government, of the want of concert and unity of purpoſe, of the neglect of the king's *hacienda*. He then proceeds to give his opinion of the governor's character, which runs on in this faſhion: "He is a man in whom reign "all the envy and covetouſneſs in the world; he "is wretched when he ſees that there is friendſhip "between any perſons of worth; it delights him "to hear fables and chatter from one and the "other; he is a man who very lightly gives credit "to evil counſels rather than to thoſe of good; "he is a perſon without any diſcretion and without

" any dexterity or talent for the things of govern-
" ment." * And in this ſtrain Vaſco Nuñez goes on, ſumming up the governor's character in a manner, which, though probably very conſiſtent with truth, would not fail to keep up in full force the deadly enmity between them, when it was re-conveyed, as it very likely was, from the Court of Spain to the governor of Darien.

Pedrarias, now fully bent upon revenge for all his real and fancied wrongs, ſtill maſters his fury ſufficiently to write a crafty letter to Vaſco Nuñez, begging him to come to him at Acla, that they may confer together upon buſineſs. Meanwhile, Vaſco Nuñez was quietly and ſerenely awaiting the return of his meſſenger, Francis Garavito. Whatever that anſwer might be, Vaſco Nuñez might well feel aſſured of fortune. If his father-in-law was ſtill in power, he might be joined by freſh adventurers, and be ſure of new ſupplies; if Lope de Soſa had come, he would ſail away with his truſtful company, free from any ſuperior, and confident in his future fortunes, the light of his unique renown throwing forwards a brilliant track in the future, along which he would ſail to ſtill greater deeds and greater diſcoveries. And ſuch,

Pedrarias ſends for Vaſco Nuñez.

* Nav. Col. de Viages, vol. 3, p. 384.

indeed, would have been the probable reſult, had he once more ſpread his ſails upon the waters which owned him for their great diſcoverer. In that caſe the conqueſt of Peru would not have troubled us much with the name, or the deeds, of the ignorant Pizarro, but would have been made by one fitted to govern and to re-conſtruct, as well as to conquer. It was a career which, in the opinions of the men of that age, the ſtars were certain to have much concern with; and, accordingly, we learn that an Italian aſtrologer, called Micer Codro, who had come to thoſe parts to ſee the world, had told Vaſco Nuñez, that the year in which he ſhould ſee a certain ſtar, which the aſtrologer pointed out, in ſuch a place of the heavens, he would run great danger of his life, but if he eſcaped that danger, he would be the greateſt and richeſt lord in all the Indies.

Prophecy of an aſtrologer.

Walking one evening, an evening in the tropics where Nature is ſo large and ſo gracious, probably along the ſea-ſhore from whence he could ſee his brigantines lying idly in the harbour, Vaſco Nuñez looked up and beheld his fateful ſtar in the very place which the Italian aſtrologer had pointed out to him. In the merry mood of a man who is near his doom, what the Scotch call "fey," he began to turn to his attendants, and to mock at

the prophecy. "A ſenſible man, indeed, would "he be, who ſhould believe in diviners, eſpecially "in Micer Codro, who told me this and this (here "he related the Italian's words of omen), and "behold I ſee the ſtar he ſpoke of, when I find "myſelf with four ſhips and three hundred men "in the ſea of the South, juſt about to navigate "it." Though Vaſco Nuñez did thus deſpiſe the prophecy, it was a very judicious one (there is no little wiſdom ſometimes in the words of charlatans, a wiſdom built upon great knowledge of life), for men's fortunes come to a focus, or rather, to a point in the interſection of many curves of other lives and circumſtances, and what is done by them then has life and warmth in it, and can be done then only. It was eaſy to perceive, even for a perſon leſs verſed in the foibles and wild wiſhes of mankind than an aſtrologer would be, that Vaſco Nuñez was rapidly nearing ſome ſuch criſis in his ſtormy life.

When Vaſco Nuñez was uttering theſe confident words, and going on, it is ſaid, in the ſame boaſtful ſtrain, he was little aware that the ſleepleſs furies were liſtening at the door. Dramatically, at that moment, really, a few days afterwards, a meſſenger from the governor brought his treacherous letter to Vaſco Nuñez who was then in

the little iſland called the Iſland of Tortoiſes. It has been remarked as ſingular that no one ſent a warning word to Vaſco Nuñez, not even his own meſſenger at Acla; but this may be accounted for by the diſſimulation of the governor, who, perhaps, confided to no one his real intent. Vaſco Nuñez went with the utmoſt readineſs to meet his father-in-law at Acla. On the road he fell in with Pizarro, who had come with ſoldiers to arreſt him. "What is this, Franciſco Pizarro?" he exclaimed, "you were not wont to come out in this faſhion "to receive me." But he attempted neither flight nor reſiſtance, and being thus taken, he was put into confinement in the houſe of a man called Caſteneda, while the Licentiate Eſpinoſa was ordered to proceed againſt him with all poſſible rigour. At firſt, Pedrarias pretended that he did this only to give Vaſco Nuñez an opportunity for juſtifying himſelf; but afterwards, he ſhowed his true wiſhes, and broke out into violent reproaches againſt his ſon-in-law, who proteſted that he was innocent of the meditated offence laid to his charge, ſaying why ſhould he have come to Acla to meet Pedrarias, if he had not been ſure of his innocence. It was not difficult to frame a good indictment againſt Vaſco Nuñez, introducing the impriſonment of Enciſo, the death of Nicueſa, and the

Vaſco Nuñez arreſted.

reported converſation of Vaſco Nuñez with his friends, partially overheard by the ſentinel, which muſt have been the main ground of the charge. There was alſo a letter from a friend in Darien which counſelled flight; and I conjecture that imprudent ſayings by Vaſco Nuñez in former times were now remembered, if not formally brought up, againſt him. The governor was not Vaſco Nuñez's only enemy; but the treaſurer Alonſo de la Puente, for ſome money affairs, and Andres Garavito, for ſome love affair (it is intimated that he courted the Indian woman, daughter of Careta, who was much beloved by Nuñez), were his enemies.* The ſoft hand of ſome fair woman not ſeldom interweaves the fatal thread of that coil in their affairs which ſtrangles out the lives of the greateſt men.

It ſeems hard that Vaſco Nuñez ſhould be condemned for an offence of which he was, comparatively ſpeaking, innocent. But this is the way in which, both in ſmall and great matters, we are all puniſhed, namely, for thoſe things which we did not commit; and this is quite reaſonable, conſi-

* There is a confuſion in this ſtory as given by Herrera, which is to be accounted for, as I conjecture, by there being two brothers of the name of Garavito; one Francis who was true to Nuñez, the other Andres who was not ſo.

dering how many of our worſt actions do not find their fitting retribution juſt yet. The Licentiate Eſpinoſa, in giving a report to Pedrarias of the reſult of the proceſs, ſaid that Vaſco Nuñez had incurred the penalty of death, but taking into conſideration the eminent ſervices which he had rendered to the ſtate, the Licentiate recommended that Vaſco Nuñez's life ſhould be ſpared. Pedrarias, however, was implacable. "Since he has "ſinned, let him die for it" (*Pues ſe pecó, muere por ello*), was the exclamation of the fiery old man; and he ordered the ſentence to be inſtantly carried into effect, which was that they ſhould cut off Vaſco Nuñez's head, the crier going before him and ſaying with a loud voice "This is the "Juſtice which our lord the king, and Pedrarias, "his lieutenant, in his name, command to be done "upon this man as a traitor and uſurper of the "lands ſubject to the royal crown." It was in vain that Vaſco Nuñez proteſted againſt the ſentence. He was beheaded, and after him four of his friends who were implicated in the ſo-called conſpiracy, amongſt whom was the lay friend Valderrabano, to whom he confided his intentions on that wet evening which proved ſo fatal to him. The clerigo, probably on account of his profeſſion, eſcaped a like fate.

Vaſco Nuñez is condemned.

Thus periſhed Vaſco Nuñez, the man who, ſince the time of Columbus, had ſhown the moſt ſtateſmanlike and warriorlike powers in that part of the world; but whoſe career is ſummed up with that of Ojeda, Nicueſa, and the other unfortunate commanders who devaſtated thoſe beautiful regions of the earth. Like the career of moſt even of the greateſt men, it puts one in mind of the half-hewn ſtones which are ſtill found in quarries, ſtones that were juſt about to be taken to ſome ſignal place in ſome great old temple, when from a convulſion on the face of the earth, or the kingdoms of it, the work ſeems to have been broken off, and the workmen came to that quarry no more.

With his death, we may, for the preſent, take leave of the proceedings in the Terra Firma: I wiſh I could have dealt with them in the way that Peter Martyr does, in his work "on the Iſlands "lately diſcovered," where he ſays, ſpeaking of the doings of Pedrarias, "I will give them in few "words, becauſe they were all horrid tranſactions, "nothing pleaſant in any of them.*

* "Brevibus abſolvam, quia horrida omnia, ſuavia nulla. Ex "quo noſtræ decades deſierunt, nil aliud actum eſt, niſi perimere "ac perimi, trucidare ac trucidari."—PET. MARTYR, *De inſulis nuper inventis*. p. 360.

But the foregoing account is eminently inſtructive as regards the dealings of the Spaniards with the Indians. It is with difficulty that any readable narrative can be made of ſuch a thicket of facts and names and dates, ſo perplexed and yet disjointed. The utmoſt I can hope is, that the perſons who were involved in this ſtory might, perhaps, were they to read it now, recognize themſelves in it. This is not putting the truth of the narrative very high. It is probable, however, that there are many accounts of things in which the perſons engaged, except for the ſimilarity of the names to their own, would not recogniſe themſelves, and would imagine they were reading fiction. The dialogues of the Dead upon Hiſtory would, I ſuſpect, often make the ears of the living narrator tingle.

In conſidering the long tiſſue of miſ-directed efforts narrated in this and the preceding chapters, it is natural to endeavour to think out what would have been the beſt courſe to have been purſued by men of power in thoſe days. That many of them earneſtly deſired to do right, is manifeſt, and it ſeems hard perpetually to criticiſe their doings without ſuggeſting what they ought to have done.

Had they been contented with a reaſonable gain in trade, there is but little doubt in my mind that they would have proſpered greatly. We ſee, I think, that the expeditions which were thus conducted, were almoſt the only ſucceſsful ones. This would not have prevented the gradual ſettlement of the Spaniards in America, but would only have made it proceed in the moſt natural, and therefore, ſucceſsful manner. Mercantile forts would have been erected: theſe would have depended for their ſupply, not wholly on the ſurrounding country, but on their fellow countrymen, and by degrees that knowledge of the ways, cuſtoms, and eſpecially of the language, of the Indians, would have been learnt, that would have proved moſt ſerviceable in further communication with them and in forming more extended ſettlements of the Spaniards. If, on the other hand, ſettlements were to be made without reference to trade, it is clear that agriculture ſhould have been the firſt and the principal object of each new ſettlement. Trade and agriculture: theſe are the two chief ſources of well-being for an infant colony. No colony is ſupported for any long time upon conqueſt; unleſs indeed the conquerors at once adopt the ways and means of procuring livelihood in uſe among the ſubject people.

It would alſo have been poſſible, perhaps, for a more extended colonization to have taken place with good effect, under a ſtrict and limited government, ſuch as might have been provided if one of the young princes of the houſe of Spain, Ferdinand, Charles the Fifth's brother, for inſtance, had been ſent out to adminiſter the Indies, and afterwards to poſſeſs what he ſhould there acquire. For the want of unity in government, the diſtance from the centre of power, and the conſequent ſtrength and temerity of faction, were ſome of the main cauſes of the deplorable failures which have juſt been deſcribed.

This, however, is all "ex poſt facto" wiſdom. The reckleſſneſs of the conquerors, their love of wild adventure, the attractive power of gold which uſes men for its divining rods, drawing them hither and thither through the utmoſt dangers to the moſt wretched parts of the earth as it liſts—all theſe together prevented, and muſt have prevented, anything like patient, ſteady, forbearing, concentrated colonization.

Throughout the hiſtory of the peopling of the Terra Firma by the Spaniards, it is impoſſible not to feel the greateſt pity for the Indians, who ſeem, from the firſt, like a devoted people given over to deſtruction, and for whom there is no chance of

gaining anything but deſpair from the preſence of their invaders, who might, however, have brought and taught them ſo much that was good. For the Spaniards, too, ſeeing their undaunted energy and immenſe endurance (it is curious to obſerve, that they make little or no mention, for the moſt part, of thoſe minor miſeries which we know they muſt have ſuffered ſo much from), it is impoſſible not to have ſome pity. They are conquerors, but they ſeem, after all, like demon-driven men. Little, apparently, is gained for humanity by all they do, and the majority of them, after filling up their meaſure of deſtruction, die miſerably and contemptibly, with the hard eyes of ſuffering companions, ſuffering too much themſelves to pity others, upon them.

The reader of theſe things feels, as the Indians ſometimes felt themſelves, that great prophecies of old were being unrelentingly fulfilled againſt them.

I am reminded of an old proverb of awful import which in theſe wars and devaſtations, applies to the conquerors as to the conquered, and which ſays, "God may conſent, but not for ever" (*Dios conſiente, pero no para ſiempre*), and which indicates that there is an end, however remote, to all that is not built up in conſonance with His laws.

CHAPTER V.

The Occupation of Cuba.

THE moſt difficult thing, after diſcovering anything like general rules, is to know when to break through them. It is from not attending ſufficiently to this latter difficulty, that three of the principal hiſtorians who have written on the ſubject of the Spaniſh conqueſts, have, as I venture to think, fallen into conſiderable error, and have made books which none but thoſe who have a love for hiſtory will read. Peter Martyr, Las Caſas, and Herrera have all endeavoured in their hiſtories to maintain chronological order, a very deſirable thing, no doubt, as a general rule, but abſolutely incompatible with a clear underſtanding of the various, complicated and place-ſhifting events which theſe hiſtorians had to chronicle.

However a ſingle drama may be bound down by the Unities, the ſtory of hiſtory will not confine itſelf to any ſuch nice rules, and the attempt to make it accurate in one reſpect often lets in a

flood of confuſion in others. The hiſtorian, it is true, is accurate in point of time; but the reader's apprehenſion is entirely confuſed by a narrative which requires his imagination to fly from place to place, or to be nearly ubiquitous, and his memory to retain before it at the ſame moment ſeveral independent trains of fact and reaſoning.

I make the foregoing remarks to explain why, though in general ſtriving to maintain the order of time, I have nevertheleſs related, without any break, the principal circumſtances connected with the firſt occupation of the Terra Firma.

The reader may now, to a certain extent, diſmiſs that courſe of events from his mind, remembering the main outlines of the ſtory; namely, that the northern coaſt of South America has been inveſtigated and traverſed, the great South Sea diſcovered, the Indians ſubjugated, enſlaved, or driven away from the coaſt, two or three cities founded, and a very large proportion of the Spaniards deſtroyed by diſeaſe, famine, hardſhip, and the aſſaults of Indians.

The occupation of Cuba by the Spaniards is the next great ſtepping-ſtone in this hiſtory. It was from Cuba that two or three of the moſt important expeditions, ſuch as that of Franciſco de Cordova to Campechy Bay, of Juan Grijalva to

Yucatan, and of Cortes to Mexico, were directed; it was at Cuba that Las Caſas commenced his career of humanity; and the ſettlement of the Spaniards in that iſland affords a memorable example of their general policy and conduct towards the Indians.

Cuba firſt diſcovered by Columbus.

Cuba was diſcovered by Columbus in the courſe of his firſt voyage; but it ſeems not to have been much regarded by the Spaniards for ſome years. They were doubtful, indeed, whether it was an iſland, until king Ferdinand directed Ovando to inveſtigate the fact, when he diſpatched Ocampo to coaſt about Cuba, who aſcertained that it was an iſland.

The diſpoſition of the inhabitants was ſimilar to that of the Indians in Hiſpaniola: and hitherto thoſe Spaniards who had been thrown upon the coaſt of Cuba, had for the moſt part experienced nothing but kind treatment from the natives. One of the Caciques was called Comendador, having been baptized by ſome Spaniards, and having choſen this name from the title of Ovando, the governor of Hiſpaniola, who was a Comendador of the order of Alcantara.

It chanced that a ſhip, paſſing by that part of the coaſt, which is near to the Cape de la Cruz, left there a young mariner who was ſick, but who

afterwards recovered. This mariner placed an image of the Virgin Mary in one of the houſes of the Cacique Comendador, and taught the people to come there every evening, and on their knees to ſay the Ave Maria and the Salve. Now the neighbouring Caciques were very angry becauſe this Cacique and his people had deſerted the idol they had all been accuſtomed to worſhip, and which was called, in the language of that country, their Cemi. Many battles took place about the matter in diſpute, but the victory was ever with the chriſtian Cacique. The others ſaid that neither Comendador, nor his men, gained the battles, but a beautiful woman clad in white, with a wand in her hand. Both parties at laſt came to an agreement to try the relative merits of the Cemi and of the Virgin Mary in this faſhion; namely, that the infidel Caciques ſhould take an Indian of the Comendador's party, and ſhould bind him as they pleaſed, and that the Comendador ſhould take an Indian from their party and bind him as he pleaſed, and that the two ſhould be left alone, by night, in a field: then, if the Cemi was more powerful than the Virgin Mary, he would come and unbind his man, but, if the Virgin Mary was more powerful than the Cemi, ſhe would come and unbind her worſhipper. Guards were appointed

to ſee what ſhould happen. So it was done, and at midnight came the Cemi to unbind his man, and while he was unbinding him, the Virgin Mary, clothed entirely in white, and very beautiful, with a wand in her hand, appeared, upon which the Cemi fled; but ſhe touched her worſhipper with the wand, and, as ſhe touched him, he was looſed, and all his bonds went upon the other Indian, in addition to thoſe which he had before. The Caciques ſaid that it was ſome deceit, and they reſolved to try the thing again, and ſee whether it were true or not. Again the witneſſes told the ſame ſtory. The Caciques reſolved to watch themſelves, and, as they too ſaw the miracle, they ſaid that the Virgin Mary was a good Cacique, and that the Comendador might take the Virgin Mary for his lord, and that the others might chooſe which they pleaſed, the Virgin Mary or the Cemi. Afterwards there came a clerigo that way and baptized many of them; he alſo endeavoured to teach them, at the riſk of his life, not to put food for the Virgin Mary as they were accuſtomed to do for their Cemi. Every chriſtian that came in their way, they made ſit down, and gave him to eat, and inſiſted upon his ſaying his Ave Maria, whether he liked it or not, for they were very zealous, as converts are apt to be; "and they took me too,"

ſays Enciſo,* "and I ſaid it many times, and I "remained with them three days." I give this account, not as vouching for its hiſtorical fidelity, but to ſhow how little wedded to their own ſuperſtitions were theſe Indians of Cuba, and how willing to adopt any thing that came recommended to them by thoſe whom they deemed to be of ſuperior intelligence.

It was in the year 1511 that the admiral Don Diego Columbus, governor of Hiſpaniola, undertook the ſubjection of Cuba. He choſe for his captain Diego Velaſquez, one of the original conquerors, a man of wealth, whoſe poſſeſſions in Hiſpaniola were in that part of the iſland neareſt to Cuba. Velaſquez was a perſon of impoſing preſence and demeanour, who, as Herrera intimates, required to have all the honour paid to him that was due to his ſtation, but was of a kindly nature and very forgiving. This will ſeem an aſtoniſhing deſcription, when we come to read of his deeds, but it requires almoſt the genius of goodneſs for a man to go far beyond the goodneſs of his fellows, in fact to be ſo good as to loſe all chance of popular eſteem, which, of courſe, is

Velaſquez appointed Governor of Cuba 1511.

* Suma de Geografia, Indias Ocidentales.

reſerved for the people's idea of goodneſs, not for ſuch as may tranſcend it.

The principal man in Cuba was Hatuey, the Cacique, who, as was mentioned before, kept ſpies at Hiſpaniola to tell him of the tranſactions of the Spaniards, and who had humorouſly enough aſſembled his people to inform them of the God worſhipped by the Spaniards, when he produced a baſket of gold, and made his Indians dance round it and honour it.

Velaſquez ſails for Cuba 1511.

Diego Velaſquez ſailed for Cuba at the end of the year 1511, and diſembarked at Puerto de Palmas, in the territory of the Cacique Hatuey. The Cacique endeavoured to defend his country againſt the inroad of the Spaniards, but could offer only a feeble reſiſtance, as the naked bodies and barbarous weapons of his men were no match whatever for the well-armed, well-accoutred Spaniards. Indeed, the only ſafety for the Indians was in flight; and the nature of the country, for that part of Cuba was very mountainous, afforded them ſome preſent means of eſcape from their enemies. The Spaniards then commenced their Indian hunts, in the courſe of which they put to death as many men, women and children as they

pleaſed; the reſt they tied together and drove before them like cattle, giving them the ſame name (*piezas*) as cattle. The Indians thus acquired were not called ſlaves, though they were ſo in reality; and Velaſquez diſtributed them, now to one follower, now to another, as it ſeemed beſt to him. The only reſtriction was, that theſe Indians were not to be bartered, a reſtriction which was eaſily eluded.

Great efforts were made by the Spaniards to ſecure the perſon of Hatuey. The captive Indians were in ſome inſtances tortured, in order to elicit from them where their chief was hidden; and at laſt Hatuey fell into the hands of the Spaniards. His fate was a terrible one. He was ſentenced to be burnt alive, and this ſentence was literally carried into effect. At the ſtake the attendant prieſt exhorted him to be baptized and to become a chriſtian, as he would then go to Heaven. The Cacique aſked in reply, if the chriſtians went to Heaven, and finding that ſome of them were expected to do ſo, he ſaid that he had no wiſh to go there. More point has been given to this ſtory than it really has: it was the ſimple expreſſion of a wiſh, not to meet his enemies and perſecutors in a future life, in whatever regions of joy they might be.

Hatuey captured.

It was ſhortly after the burning of Hatuey that Las Caſas was ſent for by Diego Velaſquez from the iſland of Hiſpaniola. He arrived at Cuba at the ſame time as a certain Pamphilo de Narvaez, who was ſent from Jamaica with thirty archers to aſſiſt in the population and pacification, for ſuch were the terms in vogue, of the iſland of Cuba. Velaſquez appointed Pamphilo de Narvaez his lieutenant; and Las Caſas was joined with Narvaez in the office of bringing under ſubmiſſion all the reſt of the iſland. One of the firſt expeditions of Narvaez was unſucceſsful; it was in the province of Bayamo, and he himſelf was nearly killed, and would never have been ſaved at all, but for the terror which his horſe, an animal not hitherto ſeen by theſe Indians, inſpired. Both theſe Indians, however, and thoſe of Hatuey's country who had fled at the approach of the Spaniards, returned to beg pardon and to be received into ſubjection. This appears aſtoniſhing, but is eaſily explained. The territories into which they fled, were occupied by other Indians, who had food enough for themſelves only; and, therefore, after a brief ſojourn, the unhappy fugitives, becoming moſt unwelcome gueſts, were obliged to return to their own country, for the Spaniards, though terrible viſitors in

other reſpects, from the comparative ſmallneſs of their numbers, did not at once create a famine in thoſe parts which they occupied.

By theſe means the province where the Spaniards firſt landed, called Maici, and another adjacent one of the name of Bayamo were brought into complete ſubjection ; and the inhabitants were then divided into *repartimientos* and apportioned by Velaſquez amongſt his followers. After this Velaſquez, who was about to be married, went to receive his bride, leaving Juan de Grijalva as his lieutenant, for Narvaez had not yet returned, and Las Caſas, as an adviſer to the lieutenant. On the return of Narvaez, orders from Velaſquez reached the place where Narvaez and Las Caſas were ſtationed, directing them to make an expedition into the country of Camaguey for the purpoſe of "aſſuring" it, to uſe their phraſe. The narrative of this expedition which is given in full detail by Las Caſas, an eye-witneſs and a principal actor in the ſcenes he relates, is very inſtructive.

Expedition of Las Caſas and Narvaez.

Before they reached the province of Camaguey, they came to a place called Cueiva. This was the very ſpot where Ojeda, when ſhipwrecked, had left an image of the Virgin. Ojeda, as may be remembered, had been received with great kindneſs by the Indians in that vicinity, and the image

which he left was now held in the higheſt reverence by the natives, who had built a church, adorning it inſide with ornamental work made of cotton, and had ſet up an altar for the image. Moreover they had compoſed couplets in honour of the Virgin, which they ſang to ſweet melodies and accompanied with dancing. This image was held in eſpecial reverence by the Spaniards too, and Las Caſas being anxious on that account to obtain it in exchange for another image which he had brought with him, entered into treaty with the Cacique for that purpoſe. The Indian chief, however, was ſo alarmed at theſe overtures, that he fled by night, taking the beloved image with him. Las Caſas, when he heard of this, was greatly diſconcerted, fearing leſt the neighbouring population ſhould take up arms on behalf of their image. He managed, however, to quiet them, aſſuring them, that he would not only not take their image, but that he would beſtow upon them the one which he had brought with him.

Such gentle means as theſe were invariably purſued by Las Caſas with the greateſt effect; and it is evident from this ſtory how very eaſy the converſion of the Indians would have been by mild means, which converſion was made the pretext

with ſome, and the real juſtification with others, for the greateſt inhumanities.

The commands of Las Caſas met with ſuch reverence from theſe ſimple people, that when he ſent by a meſſenger any bit of dirty paper inſerted at the end of a ſtick, the meſſenger declaring that the paper bore ſuch and ſuch orders, they were implicitly obeyed. The Indians had in general the greateſt reſpect and wonder for the communication among the Spaniards by letter, for it appeared to the Indians quite a miracle, how the information of what had been done in one place was made known in another by means of theſe myſterious pieces of paper.

One of the chief cares of the clerigo (the title by which Las Caſas deſcribes himſelf) was, whenever they halted in any Indian town or village, to aſſign ſeparate quarters to the Indians and the Spaniards. By this means he prevented many diſorders and much cruelty. But his principal buſineſs was to aſſemble the children in order to baptize them; and, as he obſerves, there were many that God beſtowed his ſacred baptiſm upon in good time; for none, or nearly none, of all thoſe children remained alive a few months after.

In the courſe of this journey of pacification,

the Spaniards approached a large town of the Indians called Caonao, where an immenſe number of the natives had congregated together, chiefly to ſee the horſes which the Spaniards brought with them. In the morning of the day on which the Spaniards under Narvaez and Las Caſas, amounting to about a hundred men, arrived at Caonao, they ſtopped to breakfaſt in the dry bed of a ſtream where there were many ſtones ſuitable for grindſtones: and they all took the opportunity of ſharpening their ſwords. From thence a wide and arid plain led them to Caonao. They would have ſuffered terribly from thirſt, but that ſome kindly Indians brought them water on the road. At laſt they reached Caonao, at the time of veſpers. Here they halted. The chief population of this Indian town and the vicinity was aſſembled together in one ſpot, the people ſitting on their haunches, and gazing, no doubt with wonderment, at the horſes which they had come to ſee. Apart, in a large hut, were five hundred of the natives, who, being more timid than the others, were content to prepare victuals for the Spaniards, but declined any nearer approaches. The Spaniards had with them about a thouſand of their own Indian attendants. The clerigo was preparing for the diviſion of the rations amongſt the men, when all

of a ſudden a Spaniard, prompted, as was thought, by the devil, drew his ſword: the reſt drew theirs; and immediately they all began to hack and hew the poor Indians, who were ſitting quietly near them, and offering no more reſiſtance than ſo many ſheep. At the preciſe moment that the maſſacre began, the clerigo was in the apartment where the Spaniards were to ſleep for the night. He had five Spaniards with him: ſome Indians who had brought in the baggage were lying on the ground, ſunk in fatigue. The five Spaniards hearing the blows of the ſwords of their comrades without, immediately fell upon the Indians who had brought the baggage. Las Caſas, however, was enabled to prevent that ſlaughter, and the five Spaniards ruſhed out to join their comrades. The clerigo went alſo, and, to his grief and horror, ſaw already heaps of dead bodies ſtrewed about, "like "ſheaves of corn" waiting to be gathered up. "What think you theſe Spaniards have been do-"ing?" exclaimed Narvaez to Las Caſas; and Las Caſas replied, "I commend both you and them "to the devil." * The clerigo did not ſtop however, to bandy words with the commander, but

Maſſacre at Caonao.

* "Que os ofreſco á vos y á ellos al Diablo."—Las Casas, *Hiſt. de las Indias.* MS. l. 3, c. 29.

ruſhed hither and thither, endeavouring to prevent the indiſcriminate ſlaughter which was going on, of men, women, and children. Then he entered the great hut, where he found that many Indians had already been ſlaughtered, but ſome had eſcaped by the pillars and the woodwork, and were up aloft. To them he exclaimed, " Fear " not, there ſhall be no more, no more ſlaughter;" upon which, one of them, a young man of five-and-twenty, truſting to theſe words, came down. But, as Las Caſas juſtly ſays, the clerigo could not be in all places at once, and, as it happened, he left this hut directly, before indeed the poor young man got down, upon which a Spaniard drew a ſhort ſword out, and ran the Indian through the body. Las Caſas was back in time to afford the laſt rites of the Church to the dying youth. To ſee the fearful wounds that were made, it ſeemed, the hiſtorian ſays, as if the devil that day had guided the men to thoſe grinding-ſtones in the dry bed of the river.

When inquiry was made as to who had been the author of this maſſacre, the Spaniard, I mean, who firſt drew his ſword, no one replied. This ſhows how cauſeleſs the maſſacre was, for if there had been any good reaſon for it, the Spaniard would have juſtified himſelf, and perhaps claimed

merit for his proceeding. It may have been panic in this one man; it may have been momentary madneſs; for ſuch things are taken much leſs into account than is requiſite: but, whatever the cauſe, the whole tranſaction ſhows the conduct of the Spaniards towards the Indians in a moſt unfavourable light.

Indeed the maxim which has been elſewhere laid down in this hiſtory, ſeems to me to continue applicable throughout—namely, that the evil conſequences of war depend, not ſo much upon the nature of the victory, or the rage of the combatants, or the cauſe of the quarrel, as upon the contempt, juſtifiable or not, which the victorious ſide has for the vanquiſhed. The wars between nations that reſpect one another may have moſt ſanguinary and cruel reſults, but not ſo injurious to humanity as when Spartan conquers Helot, Mahomedan conquers Chriſtian, Spaniard conquers Moor or Indian, or as, in general, when one nation with much civilization, or much bigotry, conquers another nation of little civilization, or of another creed. The Romans may in ſome inſtances have offered a ſplendid exception to this rule; but in the hiſtory of the world it holds good.

War when moſt fatal.

Returning to the affairs of Cuba, the Spaniards,

leaving the Indian town of Caonao, which they had deſolated in the manner related above, formed a camp in the vicinity, or rather ordered the Indians to form it for them, for each Spaniard had at leaſt eight or ten Indian attendants. Amongſt thoſe of Las Caſas was an old Indian of much repute in the iſland, called Camacho, who had accompanied the clerigo voluntarily, to be under his protection. One day, while the Spaniards were at this camp, a young Indian, ſent as a ſpy from the former inhabitants of Caonao, came into the camp, and making his way directly to the clerigo's tent, addreſſed Camacho, begging to be taken into the clerigo's ſervice, and requeſting that he might be allowed to bring his younger brother alſo. Camacho informed Las Caſas of this, who was delighted with the news, as it gave an opportunity of communicating with thoſe Indians who had fled. Accordingly he received the Indian very kindly, made him ſome trifling preſents, and beſought him to bring back the Indians to their homes, and to aſſure them that they ſhould not be further moleſted. The young man, to whom Camacho gave the name of Adrianico, took his leave, promiſing to bring his brother and the reſt of the Indians. Some days paſſed away, and Las Caſas began to think that Adrianico would not be able

to perform his promiſe, when one evening he made his appearance with his brother and a hundred and eighty Indian men and women. Children are not mentioned, and I conjecture theſe Indians did not chooſe to run the riſk of bringing them within the power of the Spaniards. It was a melancholy ſight to ſee the little band of fugitives, with their ſmall bundles of houſehold things on their ſhoulders, and their ſtrings of beads as preſents for the clerigo and the Spaniards, returning, perforce, for want of food—and perhaps too with ſome of that inextinguiſhable fondneſs for home which makes ſo large a part of the world habitable to men—to the ſpot where they had but lately ſeen ſuch cruelties perpetrated on their neareſt friends and relations. The clerigo was delighted to ſee them, but very ſad too, when he conſidered "their gentle-"neſs, their humility, their poverty,"* and their ſufferings. Pamphilo de Narvaez joined Las Caſas in doing all he could to aſſure theſe poor people of their ſafety; and they were diſmiſſed to their empty homes. This example of good treatment reaſſured the Indians of that vicinity, who in conſequence returned to their homes.

People of Caonao return.

* "Conſiderando ſu manſedumbre, humildad, ſu pobreza, ſu "trabajo, &c."—Las Casas, *Hiſt. de las Indias*. MS. l. 3, c. 30.

The Spaniards purſued their purpoſe of pacificating Cuba, now taking to their veſſels and coaſting along the ſhore, and now traverſing the country. When they came to the province of Havana, they found that the Indians, having heard of the maſſacre of Caonao and other ſuch proceedings, had all fled; upon which Las Caſas ſent meſſengers to the different Caciques, the meſſengers bearing myſterious pieces of paper inſerted at the end of ſticks, which had been found before ſo efficacious, and aſſuring theſe Caciques of ſafety and protection. The reſult was, that eighteen or nineteen of theſe Caciques came and placed themſelves in the power of the Spaniards; and it is an aſtoniſhing inſtance of the barbarity and folly of the Spaniſh captain Narvaez, that he put them in chains, and expreſſed an intention of burning them alive. Probably he thought that the province by this means, loſing all its chiefs at one blow, would become hopeleſs and obedient. The clerigo in the ſtrongeſt manner remonſtrated againſt this monſtrous treachery, to which he would have been ſo unwilling a party; and partly by entreaties, partly by threats, ſucceeded in procuring the releaſe of all theſe Caciques except one, the moſt powerful, who

Caciques of Havana come to the Spaniards.

was carried to Velaſquez, but was afterwards ſet at liberty.

This ſeems a ſtrange method of aſſuring and pacificating the Indians; but their want of reſources, and the abſence of any experience of ſuch war as they now had to encounter, if they made any reſiſtance, cauſed them eaſily to ſuccumb. The iſland of Cuba was conſidered to be pacificated. Pamphilo de Narvaez and Las Caſas were ordered to join Velaſquez at Xagua; and the attention of the governor was now directed to the more peaceful arts of founding cities, diſcovering mines, and giving Indians in *repartimiento*.

Cuba pacificated.

The names of the towns which Diego Velaſquez founded were, La Villa de Trinidad, La Villa de Sancti Spiritus, San Salvador, Santiago, and Havana—majeſtic and holy names, but much abuſed, as ſuch names have often been, both before and after theſe tranſactions.

CHAPTER VI.

The Conversion of Las Casas—His Voyage to Spain—The Death of King Ferdinand.

THE courſe of this narrative is cloſely connected with the life of Las Caſas, ſo much ſo, that his private affairs and ſolitary thoughts become matters of the utmoſt importance to the welfare, or the reverſe, of no inconſiderable portion of the new world.

Las Caſas, as the reader will hereafter ſee, had many troubles and ſorrows to bear; but at this particular period he was bleſſed with that which is always one of the greateſt bleſſings, but which, I ſometimes fancy, like hoſpitality in a partially civilized country, ſeems to have flouriſhed more, as more needed, in rude hard times. In a word, he had a real friend. This friend's name was Pedro de la Renteria. Their friendſhip was moſt intimate and had ſubſiſted for many years. De Renteria, as often happens in friendſhip, preſented a curious contraſt to Las Caſas. He was a man who might well have been a monk, a devout,

contemplative perſon, given much to ſolitude and prayer; and Las Caſas mentions a trait in his character which exactly coincides with the reſt of it, namely, that he was a moſt liberal man, but his liberality ſeemed rather to flow from habit and a careleſſneſs about worldly goods than from a reſolved judgment and benevolence. This good man's occupations, however, were entirely ſecular, and he was employed by Diego Velaſquez as alcalde.

When the iſland was conſidered ſettled and the governor began to give *repartimientos*, knowing the friendſhip that exiſted between Las Caſas and Renteria, he gave them a large tract of land in common and Indians in *repartimiento*. This land of theirs was about a league from Xagua, on the river Arimás;* and there they lived, the Padre having the greater part of the management of the joint affairs, as being much the more lively and the buſier man. Indeed he confeſſes that he was as much engaged as others in ſending his Indians to the mines and making as large a profit of their

* "Llegamos á un pueblo de Indios, que ſe dezia Yaguarama, "el qual era en aquella ſazon del Padre Fray Bartolome de las "Caſas, que era Clérigo Preſbítero, y deſpues le conocí Fraile "Domínico, y llegó á ſer Obiſpo de Echiapa: y los Indios de "aquel pueblo nos dieron de comer."—BERNAL DIAZ, c. 7.

labour as poſſible. At the ſame time, however, he was kind to them perſonally and provided carefully for their ſuſtenance; but, to uſe his own words, "he took no more heed than the other "Spaniards to bethink himſelf that his Indians "were unbelievers, and of the duty that it was on "his part to give them inſtruction and to bring "them to the boſom of the church of Chriſt."

As there was but one other clerigo in the whole iſland, it was neceſſary for Las Caſas occaſionally to ſay maſs and to preach. It happened that he had to do ſo at "the Feaſt of Pentecoſt" in the year 1415; and happening to ſtudy either the ſermons that he preached himſelf or that he heard the other clerigo preach at this time, he came to thinking with himſelf on certain paſſages ("authorities" he calls them) of Scripture. The 34th Chapter of Eccleſiaſticus, the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21ſt and 22nd verſes firſt arreſted and then enchained his attention. "He that ſacrificeth of "a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is ridiculous: and the gifts of unjuſt men are not "accepted.

Las Caſas communes with himſelf.

"The moſt High is not pleaſed with the offerings of the wicked: neither is he pacified for "ſin by the multitude of ſacrifices.

"Whoſo bringeth an offering of the goods of

" the poor doeth as one that killeth the ſon before " his father's eyes.

" The bread of the needy is their life; he that " defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood.

" He that taketh away his neighbour's living " ſlayeth him; and he that defraudeth the labourer " of his hire is a bloodſhedder."

I think that the clerigo might have dwelt upon the remaining verſes of the chapter with profit.

" When one prayeth, and another curſeth, " whoſe voice will the Lord hear?

" He that waſheth himſelf after the touching " of a dead body, if he touch it again, what avail- " eth his waſhing.

" So it is with a man that faſteth for his ſins, " and goeth again and doeth the ſame: who will " hear his prayer? or what doth his humbling " profit him?"

In recounting this converſion of his, Las Caſas takes care to ſay, that what he had formerly heard the Dominicans preach in Hiſpaniola, was, at this critical period of his life, of great ſervice to him. Then he had only ſlighted their words; but he now particularly remembers a conteſt he had with a certain father, who refuſed to give him abſolution, becauſe he poſſeſſed Indians. This is an

inſtance of the great miſtake it may be, to hold your tongue about the truth, becauſe it will provoke conteſt and apparently harden an adverſary in his opinion. The truths which he has heard ſink into a man at ſome time or other: and, even when he retires from a conteſt, apparently fixed in his own conceits, you would find ſometimes, that if he had to renew the conteſt the next day, he would not take up quite the ſame poſition that he held before. The good ſeed ſown by the Dominicans had now, after being buried for ſome years but not dead, found a moſt fruitful ſoil; and they ſhot up in the ardent ſoul of the clerigo like grain in the warm land of the tropics which he ſtood upon. Las Caſas ſtudied the principles of the matter; from the principles he turned to conſidering the facts about him; and with his candid mind thus fully arouſed, he ſoon came to the concluſion that the ſyſtem of *repartimientos* was iniquitous, and that he muſt preach againſt it.

What then muſt he do with his own Indians? Alas, it was neceſſary to give them up; not that he grudged giving them up for any worldly reaſon, but he felt that no one in Cuba would be as conſiderate towards them even as he, in the days of his darkneſs, had been; and that they would be worked to death—as indeed they were. But

ſtill the anſwer to all the ſermons he might preach, would be his own *repartimiento* of Indians. He reſolved to give them up.

Now, as Las Caſas was not only the friend, but the partner, of Pedro de Renteria, this determination of the clerigo's was a matter which would affect the intereſts of his friend; and, unluckily, Renteria happened to be abſent from home at this time, having gone to Jamaica upon buſineſs. Las Caſas, however, went to the governor, and laid open his mind to him upon the ſubject of the *repartimientos*, putting the matter boldly to Velaſquez, as it concerned his lordſhip's own ſalvation, as well as that of Las Caſas and the reſt of the Spaniards. The clerigo added, that he muſt give up his own ſlaves, but wiſhed that this determination might be kept ſecret till Pedro de Renteria ſhould return.

The governor was greatly aſtoniſhed: for Las Caſas who, no doubt, took warmly in hand anything he did take up at all, paſſed for a man fond of gain, and very buſy in the things of this world. Velaſquez, in replying, beſought the clerigo to conſider the matter well—to take fifteen days, indeed, to think of it—and to do nothing that he would repent of afterwards. Las Caſas thanked him for his kindneſs, but bade him count the fifteen days

as already paſt, and added, that if he, Las Caſas, were to repent and were to aſk for the Indians again, even with tears of blood, God would puniſh the governor ſeverely, if he were to liſten to ſuch a requeſt. Thus ended the interview; and it is to the governor's credit, that he ever afterwards held the clerigo in greater eſteem than before.

Las Caſas preaches againſt repartimientos.

Las Caſas, however, did not long confine his efforts at converſion to the governor alone; but, when preaching on the day of "The Aſſumption "of Our Lady," he took occaſion to mention publickly the concluſion he had come to as regards his own affairs, and alſo to urge upon his congregation in the ſtrongeſt manner his conviction of the danger to their ſouls if they retained their *repartimientos* of Indians. All were amazed; ſome were ſtruck with compunction; others were as much ſurpriſed to hear it called a ſin to make uſe of the Indians, as if they had been told it were ſo, to make uſe of the beaſts of the field.

After making many exhortations public and private, and finding that they were of little avail, Las Caſas meditated how to go to the fountain-head of authority, the king of Spain. His reſources were exhauſted: he had not a maravedi, or the means of getting one, except by ſelling a

mare which was worth a hundred peſos. Reſolving, however, to go, he wrote to Renteria telling him that buſineſs of importance was taking him to Caſtile, and that unleſs Renteria could return immediately, he, Las Caſas, could not wait to ſee him—a thing, as he adds, not imaginable by the good Renteria (*el bueno de Renteria*), ſo firm was their friendſhip.

It was ſtrange enough that not long before this very time, the ſervices of the church had alſo brought to light very ſerious thoughts in the breaſt of Pedro de Renteria. There may be a community of thoughts not expreſſed in language; and, perhaps, theſe two good men, while apparently engaged in their ordinary ſecular buſineſs, had, unknown to themſelves, been communicating to each other good thoughts about their poor Indians, which they had as yet no language for. While Renteria was waiting in Jamaica for the deſpatch of his buſineſs, he went into a Franciſcan monaſtery to ſpend his Lent in "retreat" there (theſe pauſes from the world are not to be deſpiſed!): he, too, had been thinking over the miſeries of the Indians, and the ſhape his thoughts had taken, was, whether ſomething for the children might not, at leaſt, be done. Finally, he had come to the concluſion to aſk the king's leave

to found colleges where he might collect the young Indians, and have them taught and brought up. For this purpose, Renteria resolved to go to Spain himself to obtain the king's leave; and, immediately after receiving the letter of the clerigo, he hurried back to Cuba.

As the meeting of the friends took place in the presence of others, and as Renteria was welcomed back by the governor himself, they had no opportunity for any explanation until they were alone together at night: then, in their dignified Spanish way, they agreed who should speak first, and after a friendly contention, the humble Renteria spoke first, which was the mark of the inferior. He then declared the motives which led him to wish to go to Spain, namely, to found colleges for the young, and to inform the king of the sufferings of the Indians. Las Casas heard Renteria's words with astonishment and reverential joy, thinking it a sign of divine favour, that so good a man as Renteria should thus unexpectedly confirm his own resolve.

When it was the clerigo's turn to speak, he thus began, "You must know, sir and brother" (for these people did not omit the courtesy which, however varied in its form, affection should not presume to dispense with), "that my purpose is no

" other than to go and ſeek a remedy for theſe " unhappy men" (the Indians). The clerigo then gave a full account of what he had already thought and done in Renteria's abſence in this matter. His friend replied in all humility, that it was not for him, but for Las Caſas, to go, who as a lettered man (*letrado*) would know better how to eſtabliſh what he ſhould urge. Renteria begged, therefore, that the ſtock and merchandize which he had juſt brought with him from Jamaica, and the farm, their joint property, might be turned into money to equip Las Caſas for his journey and his ſtay at court; and he added, " may " God our Lord be He who may ever keep you " in the way and defend you."

The farm was ſold, and in this manner Las Caſas was provided for his journey. Bad as the world is ſaid to be, there is always money forthcoming for any good purpoſe, where people really believe in the propoſer.

At this time Pedro de Cordova, the prelate of the Dominicans in the New World, ſent over four brethren of his order from Hiſpaniola to Cuba. They were very welcome to Las Caſas, as he was to them. They liſtened with intereſt to his account of the ſtate of the Indians in Cuba; and, Brother

Bernardo, the moſt eloquent and learned amongſt them, preached to the ſame purpoſe and with fully as much animation, as the clerigo himſelf had done. Their ſermons terrified the hearers, but did not ſeem to change their ways. The Dominicans, accordingly, reſolved to ſend back one of their brotherhood, Gutierrez de Ampudia, to Pedro de Cordova, to inform him of the ſtate of things at Cuba. It was arranged that Gutierrez was to accompany Las Caſas, who, by giving out that he was going to Paris, to ſtudy there and take a degree, contrived to leave Cuba without attracting the notice of the governor, who might, perhaps, have detained him, had his true purpoſe and deſtination been known.

Las Caſas quits Cuba.

So Las Caſas quitted the iſland of Cuba in company with Gutierrez de Ampudia and another Dominican, without being much obſerved or hindered at all by any one.

After their departure from the iſland, the cruelties of the Spaniards towards the Indians increaſed, and, as the Indians naturally enough ſought for ſome refuge in flight, the Spaniards trained dogs to purſue them. The Indians then had recourſe to ſuicide as a means of eſcape, for they believed in a future ſtate of being, where eaſe and felicity, they thought, awaited them. Accord-

ingly they put themſelves to death, whole families doing ſo together, and villages inviting other villages to join them in their departure from life. Some hanged themſelves; others drank the poiſonous juice of Yuca.

One pathetic and yet ludicrous occurrence is mentioned in connexion with this practice of ſuicide amongſt the Indians. A number of them belonging to one maſter had reſolved to hang themſelves, and ſo to eſcape from their labours and ſufferings. Their maſter was made aware of their intention; and he came upon them juſt as they were about to carry it into effect. "Go "ſeek me a rope, too," he exclaimed, "for I muſt "hang myſelf with you." He then gave them to underſtand that he could not live without them, they were ſo uſeful to him; and that he muſt go where they were going. They, believing that they could not get rid of him anywhere, agreed to remain where they were; and with ſorrow laid aſide their ropes to reſume their labours.

Meanwhile, Las Caſas and his companions purſued their way. Father Gutierrez, unhappily, died on the road; but Las Caſas reached St. Domingo in ſafety. On arriving there, he found that the prelate of the Dominicans was abſent,

having juſt commenced a voyage for the purpoſe of founding monaſteries in the Terra Firma, being accompanied not only by monks of his own order, but alſo by Franciſcans, and by ſome monks from Picardy who had lately come to the Indies.

This voyage of Pedro de Cordova was undertaken in accordance with a plan which, when he was laſt in Spain, he had communicated to King Ferdinand. After the laws of Burgos had been paſſed, and when Pedro de Cordova ſaw that the buſineſs for which he had come to court was ſettled, he prayed the king that he and other Dominican brethren might be allowed to go from Hiſpaniola to that part of the Terra Firma neareſt to the iſland, to preach the faith there. This good man thought that in the Terra Firma his efforts for the converſion of the Indians would be ſecure from hinderance on the part of his lay countrymen. The king aſſented readily to this plan, and furniſhed Pedro de Cordova with the neceſſary orders to the authorities at Hiſpaniola for ſhips and proviſions. Moreover, at Seville the prelate of the Dominicans was ſupplied with bells, veſtments, and all things requiſite for the performance of the ſervices of his church. As for the men neceſſary to carry out this important miſſion, Pedro de Cordova had no difficulty in

Pedro de Cordova ſeeks converts in the Terra Firma.

finding them; and he had only occaſion to go to one monaſtery, that of St. Stephen of Salamanca, from whence he was able to chooſe fourteen brethren to take with him to the Indies.

On his return from Spain to St. Domingo, Pedro de Cordova deſpatched a veſſel to the neareſt part of the Terra Firma with three monks of his order, Antonio Monteſino, already well known to the readers of this hiſtory as the preacher of a memorable ſermon, Francis de Cordova, a near relative of the prelate, and a lay brother named Juan Garces. Theſe brethren were to gain experience of the new country and the new people, and to prepare the way for the entrance of a more numerous band of miſſionaries. Monteſino, fortunately for himſelf, fell ill at the iſland of San Juan, at which the veſſel touched firſt. The other two Dominicans proceeded to the Terra Firma, and being ſet on ſhore, eſtabliſhed themſelves at a place ſome twenty leagues from Cumaná, called Piritú de Maracapana. The Indians received the Dominican monks with joy and hoſpitality, and the veſſel which had brought them returned. In a ſhort time one of the Spaniſh veſſels connected with the pearl fiſheries touched at this part of the coaſt. Pedro de Cordova did not prove happy in his conjecture that that coaſt would be free from moleſta-

tion on the part of his lay countrymen; but at the time that he made his requeſt to the king, little was known of the Terra Firma. In general, when the Indians perceived a Spaniſh veſſel approaching the coaſt, they fled; but now, relying upon the preſence of the Dominicans, the natives welcomed the new comers, and gave them proviſions. After a few days ſpent amicably, the Cacique of that region, with his family and ſervants, amounting in number to ſeventeen perſons, accepted an invitation on board the Spaniſh veſſel. If the Cacique thought at all about any danger from this viſit, he muſt have thought that the Dominican brethren who were left in the hands of his ſubjects conſtituted a ſufficient guarantee for his ſafety; but no ſooner were the Indians on board, than the veſſel weighed anchor and ſailed away. As might be imagined, the Indians on ſhore inſtantly reſolved to kill the Dominican brethren, who, with great difficulty, appeaſed them, and contrived to obtain a reſpite, promiſing that the Cacique and his family ſhould be brought back in four months. In a few days another Spaniſh veſſel made its appearance; the Dominicans communicated with the crew of this veſſel, told them of the ſtraits they were in, and gave them letters to Pedro de Cordova at St. Domingo.

Meanwhile, thoſe pearl-fiſhing, man-ſtealing villains of the firſt Spaniſh veſſel, arrived at St. Domingo. They had ſold, or were ſelling, the poor Cacique and his family, when the judges of appeal came down upon the prize, ſaid that theſe captives had not been made with the proper licenſe, and forthwith divided the Indians amongſt themſelves, the judges. In a few days after this tranſaction, the veſſel whoſe crew had taken charge of the letters from Francis de Cordova and Juan Garces entered the port of St. Domingo. The captain of the pearl-fiſhers, ſeeing his villany on the point of being diſcovered, fled at once to a monaſtery of the order of La Merced, which was juſt then being eſtabliſhed; and he took the habit of a lay-brother. He hardly fancied, I imagine, that his foul trick upon the poor Dominicans would in a few weeks make a monk of him! No ſooner were the letters from the captive monks delivered at the monaſtery, than all, no doubt, was ferment there. Antonio Monteſino had by this time recovered from his illneſs, and had returned from San Juan to St. Domingo. He went to the judges of appeal, and begged and prayed to have the Cacique and his family liberated and ſent back to the Terra Firma. If Monteſino could preach with ſuch force as he did, when he excited the co-

lony about their dealings with the Indians, what muſt he not have ſaid now? But all was in vain. The judges of appeal did not give up their ſlaves: and the Indians of the Terra Firma, after waiting the time agreed upon of four months, ſacrificed their two priſoners, Francis de Cordova and Juan Garces.

Firſt Martyrs in the Terra Firma.

This tranſaction is important, as it will have other conſequences than the death of theſe two poor monks. But in itſelf it is worth notice, as ſhowing us the diſpoſition of thoſe with whom then reſted the ſupreme power in the Indies.

Not daunted, however, by this calamity which had befallen his firſt miſſion to the Terra Firma, Pedro de Cordova had himſelf juſt ſet out upon another like expedition when Las Caſas arrived. It happened that a great ſtorm compelled the prelate and his company to return to port; and ſo Las Caſas was fortunate enough to obtain an interview with one whom he ever ſpeaks of with great veneration, the prelate of the Dominicans, Pedro de Cordova.

Interview between Las Caſas and De Cordova.

This excellent monk received Las Caſas very kindly, and applauded his purpoſe greatly, but at the ſame time gave but little hope of its being brought to a ſucceſsful termination in King Ferdinand's time, on account of the credit which, he

ſaid, the Biſhop of Burgos and the ſecretary, Lope Conchillos, had with the king, and their being entirely in favour of the ſyſtem of *repartimientos*, and moreover poſſeſſing Indians themſelves.

The clerigo, grieved but not diſmayed at theſe words, declared his intention to perſevere, to the delight of Pedro de Cordova, who, as the Dominican monaſtery was very poor, and only a part of it built, reſolved to ſend Antonio de Monteſino in company with Las Caſas to the king, to aſk alms for building the church and the monaſtery, and, if any opportunity ſhould offer, to aid the clerigo in his miſſion. And ſo in September, 1515, Las Caſas, Monteſino, and another brother embarked at St. Domingo for Spain.

Before giving an account of the proceedings of Las Caſas at the Court of Spain, it is neceſſary to mention briefly what had been done in the courſe of the preceding year, both in Hiſpaniola and Caſtile, with reſpect to the Indians. Rodrigo de Alburquerque, a near relative of a member of the Council in whom the king put great truſt, had been ſent to make a new diviſion of the Indians, and he was called *repartidor*. What occaſion there was for this new repartition, is not told, and it is difficult to imagine any good reaſon for it.

Alburquerque's repartition.

It did no good to the Indians: in fact it seems to have riveted their fetters, as it gave the Indians for two lives, for the life of the person to whom Alburquerque made the *repartimiento* and for the life of his next heir, being a son or daughter. It created the most vehement rage and opposition amongst the old colonists, some of whom found themselves deprived altogether of the services of the Indians. It was an affront to the governor, Don Diego Columbus, as this power of giving away Indians was one of his chief privileges, and the one most likely to render the Spanish colonists obedient to him.

Alburquerque was much blamed for the manner in which he exercised his office, and he was accused of bribery. It was an office in which it must have been impossible to give content. The rapid diminution of the Indians is shown by this repartition, if we can trust the figures of Las Casas, as I think we can in this case, for they were probably taken from official documents. When the treasurer Pasamonte came to Hispaniola, in 1508, there were seventy thousand Indians; when Don Diego Columbus obtained the government of that island, there were forty thousand Indians; but when Alburquerque came to divide, there were only thirteen thousand or fourteen thousand Indians left.

Population of Hispaniola.

When Hiſpaniola was firſt diſcovered there were, according to Las Caſas, three millions of Indians, according to Zuazo, one million one hundred and thirty thouſand.

The governor, Don Diego Columbus, returned, or was recalled, to Spain at the end of the year 1514, in which Alburquerque came to make the repartition. Whether Don Diego's repreſentations had any weight at court, or whether the intenſe diſguſt which Alburquerque's repartition had produced amongſt the coloniſts, had any effect there, I do not know; but the Licentiate Ibarra was ſelected to go to Hiſpaniola to take a *reſidencia* of Marcos de Aguilar, the principal alcalde in St. Domingo, to ſee how the ordinances in favour of the Indians were executed, and alſo to make a new repartition. I do not know whether the ſame proceſs was to be gone through in Cuba, and other of the Spaniſh poſſeſſions, to the governor of which the king at this time ſent an account of the motives upon which his council had come to the concluſion that Indians were to be given in *repartimiento*. Theſe motives were the ones that we are already familiar with, namely, that converſe with the Spaniards would chriſtianize the Indians; and that this converſe was to be obtained by the ſyſtem of *repartimientos*.

Before Ibarra could enter upon his duties to any purpoſe, he died, having, according to rumour, been "aſſiſted" to quit the world. For he was ſaid to be a juſt man, and was feared. Another licentiate, named Lebron, was appointed in Ibarra's place; he was not to have the ſame general powers as Ibarra, but was to proceed with the repartition of the Indians. This frequent repartition was one of the greateſt grievances that can be imagined both to the Indians and the Spaniſh coloniſts; and, by a very competent authority, is put as one of the chief cauſes of the diminution in numbers of the former. Change of climate, change of water,* (which is particularly noticed as one of the cauſes) change of maſters, and the indifference conſequent on that, in the minds of the maſters to the welfare of their Indians, all ſo wrought together in this matter, that the moſt rapid rate of increaſe known in population ſhows ſmall when compared with the rate of decreaſe of theſe Indian nations.

* "De manera que como muchos deſtos indios eſtaban acoſtumbrados á los aires de ſu tierra é á beber aguas de jagueyes, que llaman las balſas de agua llovediza, é otras aguas grueſas, mudábanlos á donde habia aguas delgadas é de fuentes é rios frios, é lugares deſtemplados, é como andan deſnudos hánſe muerto caſi enfenito número de indios, dejados aparte los que han fallecido del muy immenſo trabajo é fatiga que les han dado tratándolos mal."—*Documentos inéditos para la hiſtoria de Eſpaña*, tom. 2, p. 353.

The affairs of the Indies were in the ſtate above deſcribed when Las Caſas and his companion Antonio Monteſino arrived at Seville. Monteſino preſented Las Caſas to the Archbiſhop of Seville, a man in great favour with King Ferdinand, who had been perſuading the king to come to Seville, as an excellent climate for the aged, which advice Ferdinand had liſtened to, and was now making his way from Burgos to the South of Spain. The Archbiſhop received Las Caſas graciouſly, and furniſhed him with letters to the king and to ſome of the courtiers. Armed with theſe letters, the clerigo continued his journey, and found the king at Plaſencia, arriving there a few days before Chriſtmas in the year 1515. Las Caſas ſhunned the miniſters Lope de Conchillos and the Biſhop of Burgos, knowing how prejudiced they were likely to be, but he ſought to have an interview with the king, and obtaining that, he ſpoke at large to the king of the cauſes of his coming. He had come, he ſaid, to inform his highneſs of the wrongs and ſufferings of the Indians, and how they died without a knowledge of the Faith and without Sacraments, of the perdition of the country, of the diminution of the revenue; and, he concluded by ſaying, that as theſe things con-

Las Caſas ſees king Ferdinand.

cerned both the king's conſcience and his realm, and as to be underſtood they muſt be ſtated in detail, he begged for another and a long audience. Ferdinand, now an old and ailing man, whoſe death was near at hand, did not deny Las Caſas the ſecond audience he aſked for, but ſaid he would willingly hear him ſome day during the Chriſtmas feſtival.

In the mean time, Las Caſas poured his complaints againſt the king's miniſters and his narrative of the wrongs of the Indians, into the ears of the king's confeſſor, Thomas de Matienzo, who, repeating them to the king, received orders to tell Las Caſas to go to Seville and wait for the king's coming there (Ferdinand was about to ſet off immediately), when he would give him a long audience and provide a remedy for the evils he complained of. The confeſſor adviſed Las Caſas to ſee the Biſhop of Burgos, who had the chief management of Indian affairs, and alſo Conchillos, for, as he obſerved, the matter would ultimately have to come into their hands; and, perhaps, when they had heard all the miſeries and evils which Las Caſas had to tell them, they would ſoften. Las Caſas, to ſhow that he was not obſtinate, ſought out theſe miniſters and ſubmitted his views and his information to them. Conchillos

received the clerigo with the utmoſt courteſy and kindneſs, and ſeems to have liſtened a little to what Las Caſas had to tell him: the Biſhop, on the contrary, was very rough. Las Caſas finiſhed his audience with the biſhop by informing him how ſeven thouſand children had periſhed in three months:* and, as the clerigo went on detailing the account of the death of theſe children, the ungodly biſhop broke in with theſe words "Look "you, what a droll fool, what is this to me, or "what is it to the king"? (*mirad, que donoſo necio, que ſe me da a mi, y que ſe le da al Rey?*) to which Las Caſas replied, "Is it nothing to your "lordſhip, or to the king, that all theſe ſouls ſhould "die! Oh great and eternal God! And to whom "then is it of any concern?" And, having ſaid theſe words, he took his leave.

Conſidering the number of excellent churchmen whoſe conduct comes out nobly in this hiſtory, it is not ſurpriſing that we ſhould meet with one bad biſhop; but it is almoſt heart-breaking to conſider, that it is *the* one who could have done more than all the reſt, to redreſs the wrongs of the Indians and to recover Indian affairs. Let men in power ſee what one bad appointment may do!

* I do not know to what tranſaction he alludes.

Death of Ferdinand.

Las Caſas ſoon after left the court for Seville, where almoſt the firſt thing he heard of on his arrival, was the death of the king, which took place at Madrigalejos, a little village on the road to Seville, on the 23rd of January, 1516.

Before entering upon a new reign, ſome words remain to be ſaid about King Ferdinand. This is not the place for diſcuſſing his general character and government; but, as regards his adminiſtration of the Indies, it has now been minutely brought forward, and we may fairly have ſome opinion upon it. His granting *repartimientos* to the courtiers was doubtleſs wrong: his ſanctioning the removal of Indians from one iſland to another was wrong: we, with our lights upon the ſubject, may alſo ſay, that the whole ſyſtem of *repartimientos* was injudicious and oppreſſive. But this is no reaſon for concluding that Ferdinand, in adopting the views of his council in this matter, was not really influenced by the reaſoning prevalent in his day, which made theſe *repartimientos* prominent and neceſſary means towards the converſion of the Indians. It is but fair, too, to notice, on Ferdinand's behalf, that when the junta (ſummoned in 1512) came to him with a concluſion unfavourable to the liberty of the Indians, he

returned the Indian queſtion again upon their hands, ſaying that it muſt be placed upon the baſis arranged in Iſabella's will, which pronounced the Indians to be free men.

Again, in the inſtructions, before alluded to, which were given in 1514 to Pedrarias, the governor of Darien, the king makes a ſuggeſtion which may thus be paraphraſed. You will have to conſult your principal men about making war; but remember that it is their intereſt to obtain Indians by war, therefore allow for that in any credit you may give to their advice. Liſten rather to the Biſhop of Darien and the prieſts who accompany him, who are leſs likely to be guided by paſſion and ſelf-intereſt than the reſt. This is humane and conſiderate, eſpecially when we recollect that the king himſelf was one of thoſe who profited by wars with the Indians, as he received a ſhare of the priſoners taken in war. If it is ſaid, that at this period of his life, his affairs were mainly managed by his miniſters (though I think this cannot be maintained), and that theſe inſtructions to Pedrarias, for example, were not his, then in that caſe, he muſt be relieved from much of the reſponſibility of the injudicious meaſures paſſed at that time.

With regard to the perſonal treatment of the

Indians, my readers will have ſeen, that in ſome of the king's letters there are minute orders for the good treatment of his new ſubjects. It were certainly to be wiſhed that he had repreſſed the general ardour for getting gold, inſtead of encouraging it. But we muſt remember the neceſſities which his wars brought upon him. In one of his ſhort letters to Don Diego Columbus, he ſays, "no gold reſts" with us; and his laſt letter to his ſucceſſor, Charles the Fifth, in which Ferdinand commends, in the moſt touching manner, Germane his queen to Charles's protection, ſhows the deſtitute ſtate, as regards money, in which the king died. Again, whatever may be charged againſt Ferdinand, it cannot be ſaid that he knowingly ſent inferior men to take authority in the Indies. Bobadilla's appointment was a pure miſtake; Ferdinand and Iſabella ſuppoſed that they had choſen a high-minded, juſt man, while in reality he was a narrow-minded, hard, ſhort-ſeeing man—a ſort of miſtake that has frequently occurred. But I am not aware that there is any other inſtance of a manifeſtly bad appointment having been made by Ferdinand, or of any appointment having been made from corrupt motives.

It is probable that in later life Ferdinand truſted too much to his miniſters; and it muſt always be

the caſe in a pure monarchy, that it partakes of the failings of one man, and its action grows feeble as his powers decay.* The affairs, however, of Spain and of the Indies would have gone well enough, if all the powers of the ſtate had been as well repreſented as the head of it was by the general ability and worth of Ferdinand.

The laſt notice that I have been able to find of what were King Ferdinand's views with regard to the importation of negroes in the Indies, is to be ſeen in a letter of his, very briefly expreſſed, in which, replying to a requeſt of the Biſhop of La Concepcion in Hiſpaniola, that more negroes ſhould be imported, the king ſayś, that there are already many negroes, and that it may bring inconvenience (a thoroughly official phraſe) if more male negroes ſhould be introduced into the iſland.†

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* Petyr Martyr ſpeaking of the king in the year 1513, ſays, "Non idem eſt vultus, non eadem facilitas in audiendo, non eadem "lenitas."—*Epiſt.* 529.

† Valladolid 27 de Setiembre de 1514. Rey á Don Pedro Suarez de Deza obiſpo de la Concepcion.

"Para mas preſto acabar la Igleſia podréis paſar diez eſcla- "vos. Decis que aí aprueban los eſclavos negros i combendrá "paſen mas. Siendo varones no, pues parece que hay muchos i "podra traer incombeniente."—*Coleccion de Muñoz*, MS. tomo 90.

CHAPTER VII.

The Administration of Indian Affairs by Cardinal Ximenes.

AT the time of Ferdinand's death, Juana, the occupant of the throne of Caſtile (for Ferdinand was but regent), and the immediate heireſs of that of Aragon, was inſane; and her eldeſt ſon, Charles the Fifth, was but in his ſixteenth year. Ferdinand, therefore, nominated by will a regent to the kingdom, chooſing the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes for that office. The king, when diſcuſſing on his death-bed the queſtion of the regency, is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf thus: "If we could make a man "for the occaſion, I ſhould wiſh for a more tract-"able one than Ximenes; for to deal with the "ways of men every day degenerating, after the "rigorous old faſhion which Ximenes holds by, "is wont to create difficulties in a ſtate." But the king went on to ſay, that the integrity and juſtneſs of Ximenes were qualities of the firſt order; and then, again, that he had no connexions among

the great nobles, and no private friendſhips which he would give way to; moreover, mindful of the benefits he had received from Ferdinand and Iſabella, he had been very intent upon their affairs; and, as the king concluded by ſaying, "Ximenes "has ſhown conſtant and clear examples that he "is of our mint, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf." *

As there is good reaſon to think that Ferdinand had no eſpecial liking for the cardinal, the king's choice does both of them the more credit. And, indeed, of all the men of thoſe times in that kingdom, there was not one whom we read anything of, to be compared with Ximenes, eſpecially in the faculty for government. There is now then ſome hope that, ſhould he turn his attention to Indian affairs, ſomething diſtinct and forcible will be done in them.

Hope for the Indies

Adrian, the Dean of Louvain, who had been Charles the Fifth's tutor, and who, in the latter days of Ferdinand, had been ſent to Spain to watch over the prince's intereſts, produced powers from the young prince, nominating him (Adrian) to the government. Ximenes would not admit the validity of theſe powers, it being contended on his ſide that the regency of Caſtile had been left

* Gomecius de rebus geſtis Ximenii, folio, Francofurti, p. 166.

by Iſabella's will to Ferdinand until Charles ſhould be twenty years of age, and conſequently that any act done by Charles during Ferdinand's life was invalid. On the other ſide it was argued that a regent could not create by will a regency. Finally, it was agreed that the queſtion ſhould be referred to Charles himſelf for deciſion; and that, meanwhile, Ximenes and Adrian ſhould govern jointly. Afterwards there came a letter from Charles confirming the nomination made by Ferdinand's will of Ximenes, or rather the recommendation given, for it appears not to have amounted to more than that, and putting Adrian into communication with Ximenes, ſtill calling the former ambaſſador.

Adrian was a quiet, ſcholaſtic, juſt man with good purpoſes, and very averſe to much buſineſs. He could not have had any preponderating influence in affairs, and is ſaid to have ſent a complaint to Flanders, of the way in which Ximenes took all the government upon himſelf. Afterwards the Flemiſh miniſters of Charles ſent over Monſieur de Laxaos, a great wit and one of Charles's houſehold, and alſo, at a ſubſequent period, another Fleming, to act in concert with the cardinal, who received them courteouſly, but did not admit them to much authority. One day, when they muſt have been in a daring mood, they reſolved to ex-

ercise some power independently of the cardinal governor, and affix their names first to some document, leaving Ximenes to add his. The cardinal sent for the clerk who drew up the document, tore it up, bade him write out another, and it is said that thenceforward the cardinal did not trouble his so-called colleagues for their signatures. I have little doubt that this was not mere arrogance, but that he acted strictly within the limits of his power. And really a regency is sufficiently weak of itself without being cumbered with unwelcome colleagues of dubious powers and unfriendly intentions. Moreover, the cardinal had quite enough to contend against from his own countrymen in the exercise of his functions. Of the high-handed way in which he managed them, there is the well-known story of his reply to certain Spanish grandees who wished to be informed of the grounds of his authority, whereupon he showed them the documents upon which it rested, namely, the will of Ferdinand and the written approbation of Charles; then, leading them to a window, requested them to look out on a large body of troops with a park of cannon, which he suggested to them were the ultimate reasoning of kings.

There is another story of him not so often men-

tioned, but which is very ſignificant. The Duke de Infantado, being highly incenſed againſt Ximenes, ſent a prieſt of his ducal houſehold with a moſt inſulting meſſage to the cardinal, reproaching him, amongſt other things, with his low origin. The prieſt, after kneeling down and begging the cardinal's pardon for what he was about to ſay, ſaid it. His Eminence aſked the prieſt if he had anything more to ſay. He replied, "No;" on which the cardinal made this anſwer, "Return to "your maſter, whom you will find already regret-"ting his inſolent and fooliſh meſſage." And ſo it proved to be.

Having now obtained ſome little inſight into the cardinal governor's general character and mode of proceeding, we come to thoſe tranſactions of his which more immediately concern the purpoſe of this hiſtory.

Ximenes had not been an unintereſted ſpectator of the policy of the Catholic monarchs with regard to their American poſſeſſions; and he had urged them to ſend, which they did, eccleſiaſtics to the Indies, for the purpoſe of converting the natives. With an important dioceſe to manage, and with many other matters requiring his attention, the cardinal had not particularly devoted his

care to Indian affairs, and, as far as we know, had not been invited to do ſo. Now, however, as pertaining to the kingdom of Caſtile, and thus coming under his charge, the Weſt Indies were ſure to meet with due care from this great ſtateſman, and it was not long before their affairs were brought under his immediate notice.

Las Caſas, as may be recollected, was at Seville, awaiting King Ferdinand's arrival, when the news came of his death, upon which Las Caſas prepared to go to Flanders, to produce what impreſſion he could upon the new king; but, previouſly to taking this ſtep, he went to Madrid, to lay his ſtatement of the wrongs of the Indians before the cardinal governor and the ambaſſador, as Adrian was called. He reſolved to let them know of his intended journey, and to tell them that if they could remedy the evils he complained of, he would ſtay with them; if not, he would go on to Flanders.

He drew up his ſtatement in Latin, and began by laying it before Adrian. That good man was horrified at what he read; and without delay he went into the apartment of the cardinal (for the two great men were lodged in the ſame building) to aſk him if ſuch things could be. The reſult of the conference was, that Las Caſas was informed

Las Caſas ſees Ximenes.

by Ximenes that he need not proceed to Flanders, for that a remedy for the evils he ſpoke of ſhould be found there, at Madrid.

The cardinal aſſociated with himſelf, to hear what Las Caſas had to tell of Indian affairs, Adrian, the Licentiate Zapata, Dr. Caravajal, Dr. Palacios Rubios, and the Biſhop of Avila. They had him many times before them, and heard what he had to ſay. In the courſe of theſe hearings a curious circumſtance took place, which is well worth recording. During one of theſe juntas the cardinal ordered that the laws of Burgos (the laſt laws made touching the Indians) ſhould be read. It is a ſlight circumſtance, but in it may be ſeen ſome indication of the complete man of affairs, who wiſhes to know thoroughly where the matter is, and what they are ſtarting from. The clerk of the junta, an old retainer of Conchillos, when he came to the law about giving a pound of meat on Sundays and feaſtdays to the Indians, probably thinking that this in ſome way touched himſelf or his friends, read it wrongly. Las Caſas, who knew the laws almoſt by heart, at once exclaimed, "The "law does not ſay that." The cardinal bade the clerk read it again. He gave the ſame reading. Las Caſas again ſaid, "That law ſays no ſuch "thing." The cardinal, annoyed at theſe inter-

ruptions, exclaimed, "Be ſilent, or look to what "you ſay." But Las Caſas was not to be ſilenced by fear, when he knew himſelf to be in the right. "Your lordſhip may bid my head to be "cut off," he exclaimed, "if what the clerk reads "is what the law ſays." The council took the papers from the clerk's hands, and found that Las Caſas was right. "You may imagine," he adds, "that that clerk (whoſe name, for his honour's "ſake, I will not mention) wiſhed that he had not "been born, ſo that he might not have met with "the confuſion of face he then met with." Las Caſas concludes by remarking, "that the clerigo "loſt nothing of the regard which the cardinal "had for him, and the credit which he gave to "him."

Ximenes legiſlates for the Indies.

The reſult of theſe meetings was, that the cardinal appointed Las Caſas and Dr. Palacios Rubios, who had all along ſhown great intereſt in favour of the Indians, to draw up a plan for the liberty of the Indians and their government. At the requeſt of Las Caſas, Antonio Monteſino was afterwards added to this committee. Their way of proceeding was, for Las Caſas, as the more experienced in the matter, to make the rough draft of any propoſition, which he then ſhowed to Antonio Monteſino, who generally approved it, then

to the doctor, who did the ſame, except that he perhaps added to it, and put it in official language. Then it was taken to the cardinal and the ambaſſador, and council held upon it.

The thing to be done and the mode of doing it, were thus after much labour arrived at: and now the perſons who were to do it had to be ſought out. The cardinal bade Las Caſas find theſe perſons: but the clerigo, from his abſence for ſo long a time from Caſtile, did not know fit perſons, and begged to give the commiſſion back into the cardinal's hands, preſenting at the ſame time a memorial in which he ſtated what in his opinion were the qualifications for the office in queſtion. The cardinal, ſmiling, obſerved to Las Caſas, "Well, Padre, we have ſome good per-" ſons."

Jeronimites choſen.

The cardinal reſolved to look for his men amongſt the Jeronimites, on account of their not being mixed up with the contention that had already taken place between the Franciſcans and Dominicans touching the fitneſs of the Indians for freedom. Ximenes, accordingly, wrote to that effect to the General of the Order, who called a chapter; when twelve of the brethren were named; and a deputation of four priors was ſent to the cardinal to inform him.

Las Caſas, who was naturally anxious about the anſwer of the Jeronimites, went one Sunday morning to hear maſs at their convent near to Madrid: there he found a venerable man praying in the cloiſter: upon aſking him whether there was any reply to the cardinal's miſſive, the old man told him, that he was one of the priors who had brought an anſwer, that they arrived laſt night, and that the cardinal, having been made aware of their arrival, was to come to the convent that day.

Accordingly, in the courſe of the day, the cardinal and Adrian came with a cavalcade of courtiers to the convent. The monks received the Junta in the ſacriſty, the main body of the courtiers remaining outſide in the choir; amongſt them, doubtleſs to his no ſmall chagrin, the biſhop of Burgos, long accuſtomed to direct Indian affairs, but now of no authority in them.

The cardinal, after thanking the Order for the tenor of their reply, and magnifying the work in hand, deſired Las Caſas to be called for, who, to his great delight, walked through the aſſembled courtiers much regarded by them: and, as he conjectures, moſt regarded by the biſhop of Burgos.

Entering the ſacriſty, Las Caſas knelt down before the cardinal who told him to thank God that the deſires which God had given him were

in the way of being accompliſhed. The cardinal then told him that the priors had brought twelve names of perſons who might be choſen for the work, but that three would ſuffice. His eminence added, that this night Las Caſas ſhould have letters of credit to the general of the Jeronimites and money for his journey, and that he was to go and confer with that prelate about the choice of the three, informing the general of the requiſite qualities for the office in queſtion. Las Caſas was then to bring to court the firſt Jeronimite he ſhould make choice of; the deſpatches ſhould be prepared, and he might at once ſet off for Seville.

Obſerve throughout that nothing lingers in the cardinal's hands. Commonplace ſtateſmen live by delay, believe in it, hope in it, pray to it: but his Eminence worked as a man who knew that the night was coming, "in which no man can "work."

Las Caſas, almoſt in tears with joy, poured out his thanks and bleſſings on the cardinal, and concluded by ſaying, that the money was not neceſſary, for that he had enough to ſuſtain him in this buſineſs. The cardinal ſmiled and ſaid, "Go to, "Padre, I am richer than you are." (*Anda, Padre, que yo ſoy mas rico que vos.*) And then Las Caſas went out, "the cardinal ſaying many

" favourable things of ſome one who ſhall be " nameleſs." *

The clerigo received his letters, conferred with the general of the order of St. Jerôme, and three brethren were choſen. Their names were Luis de Figueroa, prior of la Mejorada, Alonſo de Santo Domingo, prior of the convent of Ortega, and Bernardino Manzanedo.

Las Caſas brought with him Bernardino Manzanedo to Madrid: the other two joined him there, and they all lived with him at his inn. Afterwards, however, they went to a hoſpital of their own order in that city. While ſtaying there, they were waylaid, ſo to ſpeak, by the agents for the Spaniſh coloniſts, who told them all manner of things againſt the Indians, and ſpoke ill of Las Caſas: and, in the end, ſucceeded, as he thinks, in prejudicing the minds of the Fathers to that extent, that even before they ſet out, Las Caſas and Dr. Palacios Rubios began to think, that no good would come of this miſſion which promiſed at the firſt ſo well.

However the preparations for their departure went on; and their orders and inſtructions were

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* "diciendo multa favorabilia de Johanne."—Las Casas, *Hiſt. Gen.* l. 3, tom. 1, c. 85.

made ready. The firſt order was a *cedula* to the effect, that on their arrival at St. Domingo, they ſhould take away all the Indians belonging to members of the council or to any other abſentees. The ſecond was, that they ſhould alſo deprive the judges and officers in the Indies of their Indians. The third was, that they ſhould hold a court of impeachment upon all the judges and other officers in the colony, " who had lived, as the ſaying is, " as Moors without a king."

Inſtructions to the Jeronimites.

Then came the main body of the inſtructions, which commences with a preamble to the following effect. The firſt thing the Jeronimite Fathers are to do, on arriving in the Indies, is to call the principal coloniſts together, and to tell them that the cauſe of their coming is the report of the ill-treatment of the Indians: that as their highneſſes, the cardinal and the ambaſſador, wiſh to know the truth of theſe matters, they have ſent theſe Padres, to whom the coloniſts are to tell what they know, of the paſt and preſent ſtate of things. They are to be made to underſtand that all this is done for their good and preſervation, and that if by voluntary conſent any good remedy can be ſuggeſted, by which God and their highneſſes may be ſerved, it ſhould be taken; wherefore, let them talk the

matter over and tell the Padres what concluſion they have agreed upon by common conſent.

Then the Padres are to go to the principal Caciques and to tell them that their highneſſes, the cardinal and the ambaſſador, have heard of the oppreſſions and injuries which they and their people have ſuffered in times paſt; and, as their highneſſes wiſh ſo to remedy theſe evils, that thenceforward the Caciques and their Indians may be well treated, ſince they are chriſtians, free and capable of governing themſelves *(ſubditos de ſus almas)*, their highneſſes have ſent the ſaid Padres to ſearch out the truth, to chaſtiſe the paſt wrongdoing, and to provide ſecurity for the future. Then the Caciques, as well as the coloniſts, are to talk the matter over, and to ſee whether they can ſuggeſt any good way in which both they and the coloniſts may be benefited. The addreſs to the Indians is to conclude with an aſſurance "that "the will of their highneſſes the cardinal and the "ambaſſador is, that the Indians ſhould be treated "as chriſtians and freemen, and that that is the "principal cauſe of their ordering the Padres to "go to thoſe parts."

And here it is well to put on record, as Las

Caſas does at this juncture, an account of the part which Ximenes himſelf took in this great matter of the freedom of the Indians. The clerigo mentions, that as he ſaw the tyranny of the Spaniards ſo deeply rooted, he did not dare to go about ſpeaking of the Indians as free men, until one day, talking to the cardinal of the evils which the Indians endured, the clerigo remarked, with what juſtice can theſe things be done, whether the Indians are free or not: to which Ximenes replied with vehemence "With no juſtice: what, are they "not free? who doubts about their being free?" From that time forward the clerigo went about ſaying openly in every place, that the Indians were free. On this ground Ximenes may fairly be put forward as one of the earlieſt champions of freedom, though at the ſame time it muſt in truth be ſaid that the credit which has been given him* for proteſting againſt negro ſlavery, is quite gratuitous. The greedy courtiers of Charles the Fifth perſuaded that young monarch, while he was in Ger-

Ximenes declares the Indians to be free.

* Robertſon. America, vol. 1, p. 253. "Cardinal Ximenes, how-"ever, when ſolicited to encourage this commerce, peremptorily "rejected the propoſition, becauſe he perceived the iniquity of re-"ducing one race of men to ſlavery, while he was conſulting "about the means of reſtoring liberty to another."

The authority quoted by Robertſon for this fact gives quite a different reaſon for the objection of Ximenes, viz. that theſe licenſes were a loſs to the revenue.

many, to grant licenſes for the importation of negroes to the Weſt Indies, to the number of four hundred, or more. When Ximenes heard of this, he proteſted againſt it on the ground that the negroes were a warlike race, and that they would excite a ſervile war,* a prediction which was ſoon verified by the reſult.

Leaving the queſtion of what Ximenes might have thought, or done, for the freedom of another race, it remains to be ſeen, what plan he and his junta for Indian affairs did reſolve upon for placing the Indians in a way to live like freemen. The inſtructions which were given to the Jeronimite fathers may thus be ſummed up.

Inſtructions to the Jeronimites.

They were ordered to viſit every iſland, to aſcertain the number of Indians, and to find out how they had been uſed, putting down in writing their information on this head.

They were to take note of the nature of the land, for the purpoſe of forming ſettlements near to mines, where, if poſſible, there ſhould be rivers and good ſoil for farms.

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* "Eſſe enim Aethiopes illos bellicis ſtudiis aptos, neque omnino "animis deſtitui ad egregie plerunque dimicandum. Sciret itaque "ſcelerum miniſtros trans Oceanum miſiſſe, a quibus rudes populi "gladiatoriam audaciam condiſcerent, et qui adverſus Hiſpanorum "imperium ſervile bellum aliquando concitarent."—GOMECIUS *de rebus geſtis Ximenii*, lib. 6.

Inſtructions to the Jeronimites.

Theſe ſettlements were to conſiſt of about three hundred perſons, with the requiſite number of houſes, a church, a public ſquare, where the Cacique's houſe ſhould be placed, and a hoſpital for purpoſes which will hereafter be named.

The ſettlements were to be formed, as much as poſſible, in thoſe places which the Indians preferred: lands were to be apportioned to each ſettlement, each individual Indian receiving a certain plot of land, and the Cacique four times as much as any other, there being alſo common land left for paſture.

Theſe ſettlements were to be peopled by the neighbouring Indians, who, it was to be expected, would come with better will than others. If there were not a ſufficient number of Indians in the vicinity living under one Cacique, then two or three Caciques and their people were to be united to form the ſettlement, each Cacique ruling over his own people, and there being one ſuperior Cacique, who, together with the eccleſiaſtic (*religioſo ó clerigo*) who might be ſtationed there, and with a civil officer, called an adminiſtrator, ſhould take charge of the government of the ſettlement.

The Cacique was, with the conſent of the eccleſiaſtic, to have the power of ſtripes over his people, but no more. Any crime demanding higher

puniſhment was to be dealt with in the ordinary courſe of juſtice. The ſubordinate officers of the ſettlement were to be appointed conjointly by the Cacique, the clerigo, and the adminiſtrator. A Spaniard might marry a Cacique's daughter, and ſo ſucceed to a Caciquedom, which was rather to be encouraged. Inſtructions to the Jeronimites.

One adminiſtrator was to be appointed to two or three ſettlements: he was not to live within any one of them, for fear his attendants, who might be Spaniards, and who were allowed to bear arms, ſhould oppreſs the Indians in the ſettlements who were not to be allowed to bear arms; he was to be a married man and a coloniſt; his ſalary was to be paid partly by the treaſury and partly by the ſettlement he adminiſtered: his buſineſs was to confer with the Cacique and the clerigo, and to ſee that the Indians lived in policy and worked, but not exceſſively. He was to adminiſter juſtice; he was to ſee that the Indians did not gamble away, or part fooliſhly with, their mining tools and means of ſubſiſtence; he was to prevent polygamy: and, in fine, he was to civilize and to judge the Indians committed to his charge.

Then came inſtructions for the religious obſervances in theſe ſettlements.

Their education was to be provided for in the

Inſtructions to the Jeronimites.

following manner. A ſacriſtan was to be appointed, an Indian, if one competent to fill the place could be found: he was to ſerve in the church, and to teach the children up to nine years of age to read and write, eſpecially the children of the Caciques and principal Indians; and he was to ſhow them how to ſpeak Spaniſh, and to try alſo and make the grown-up people ſpeak Spaniſh as much as poſſible.

Mention has before been made of a hoſpital: this hoſpital was to be in the middle of the village, and was to be rather what we ſhould call a poorhouſe than a hoſpital; for not only the ſick, but the old who could not work, and the orphans, were to be placed in it. Lands were to be ſet apart for the hoſpital.

Theſe inſtructions then entered upon the difficult queſtion of labour. There would be ſome ſettlements which, from their locality, would have nothing to do with mining operations: theſe were to tend herds and cultivate cotton, and to pay a tribute to the king, bearing a juſt proportion to what the others, which worked mines, would have to pay. With regard to the ſettlements near mines, the following regulations were to be adopted. The third part of the men between twenty and fifty

years of age were to work at the mines, ſetting off at ſunriſe and working till dinner time; then they were to have three hours' recreation, and afterwards to reſume their work, continuing until ſunſet. This company (gang they would now be called) was to work in this way for two months conſecutively, and then to be relieved by another company. The period of two months might be varied according to the pleaſure of the Cacique. The women were not to work at the mines unleſs they choſe to do ſo. The overſeers of the workmen were to be Indians. After having ſerved in the mines their appointed time, the Indians were to work at their own allotments under the inſpection of the Cacique and the clerigo, or the adminiſtrator. The Cacique was to have fifteen days' work gratis every year from each Indian upon his farm; and the women and children were to look after his plantations.

Inſtructions to the Jeronimites.

Then came the arrangements about the paſturage of the land. Each ſettlement was, if poſſible, to be provided with ten or twelve mares, fifty cows, and ſix or ſeven hundred pigs. Theſe cattle and pigs were to be in the hands of the Cacique, to be looked after by the community, in order to ſuſtain them in common, until they ſhould be able and accuſtomed to take care of them for them-

Inſtructions to the Jeronimites.

ſelves individually. This laſt proviſion is a very important one, as it left room for the development of the individuals compoſing the community.

The wives of thoſe men who were working at the mines were to make bread for them from the produce of their own allotments, and this was to be ſent to them on the mares, with maize and red pepper, and whatever was neceſſary. Cattle alſo were to be taken to the mines, to feed the workmen there; and a diſpenſation was to be procured to allow them to eat meat ſome days in Lent, as fiſh was difficult to be got.

Laſtly, came the regulations about the gold obtained at the mines. All the gold obtained each day was to be given to the *nitayno* (a native word ſignifying an inferior officer to the Cacique), and when melting-time came, ſay every two months, the *nitayno*, the Cacique, and the adminiſtrator ſhould take the gold to be melted, the reſult to be divided into three parts, one for the king, and the remaining two for the Cacique and the Indians.

Out of theſe two remaining parts the ſtock that had been furniſhed to the ſettlement and all the common expenſes of the ſettlement ſhould be paid for. What then remained was to be divided

equally amongſt the heads of families, except that the Cacique was to have ſix ſhares, and the *nitayno* two ſhares. Out of each Indian's ſhare tools were to be bought, which ſhould be his own, and for which he ſhould be accountable.

With what gold might ſtill remain to any Indian, the Cacique, in conjunction with the eccleſiaſtic or the adminiſtrator, ſhould buy fowls for him to keep, linen, and any furniture that might be neceſſary for his cottage.

If any remained after this, it was to be entruſted to an upright perſon, who was to be accountable to the Indian for it, to be, in ſhort, a ſort of banker to him. Everything was to be certified by writing, and a regiſter kept of the tools and other things bought for the Indians.

A hundred Spaniards were to be appointed as pioneers to diſcover mines; they were to be paid partly by the king, and partly by theſe communities of Indians.

It will naturally occur to any one reading theſe inſtructions, to aſk what was to become of the Spaniſh coloniſts, when their Indians were moſtly taken from them and formed into theſe communities? But remedies were provided for the Spaniards as well as for the Indians. The Spaniards

were to be paid for the land which would be required for the ſettlements; then they would have the offices of adminiſtrator and of the mine diſcoverers, and alſo, if the Indians were taught trades, the Spaniards were to teach them. Moreover, they were to have a licenſe to get gold for themſelves, married men paying only a tenth to the crown, and ſingle men a ſeventh. Then each Spaniard might have four or five ſlaves, being permitted to take ſlaves from amongſt the Caribs. Many of the Spaniards were indebted to the crown; they were not to be impriſoned on account of theſe debts, and might paſs to the continent of America; and, if they did go there, they were to receive certain gratifications, I ſuppoſe in ſtores or money.

On reading over the above inſtructions for forming theſe little Indian commonwealths, we cannot but be ſtruck with the thoughtfulneſs and kindneſs of the general body of them. Perhaps there is an attempt at too much management; but, under wiſe and prudent adminiſtrators, this, if an error, would have been greatly remedied. In conſidering the compenſations for the Spaniſh coloniſts, there are two things which ſeem to me very injudicious. The firſt is, the encouragement given to the peo-

pling of the Terra Firma, as they were wont to call it, which all the princes and ſtateſmen of that time were in ſad haſte to do, before any one colony was well conſtituted; whereas they might have been quite ſure that the love of novelty, the exaggeration of rumour, and the wild hopes and fancies about unknown lands, would effect that purpoſe rapidly enough. And the aim of the home government ought to have been, I think, to concentrate, and not to ſcatter, their coloniſts.

Then the permiſſion to capture Caribs was ſure to lead to the greateſt abuſe, as it had already done.

Las Caſas objects to the compulſory working at the mines, and to the payment to be demanded from the Indians for whatever cattle and implements were to be furniſhed them. He is alſo averſe to the proviſion for the capture of the Caribs, and ſays that all theſe things were inſerted contrary to his wiſhes. I hardly ſee how, without prophetic viſion, any body of ſtateſmen of that time, who had not themſelves been in the Indies, could have been wiſe and foreſeeing enough to leave the Indians alone in their ſettlements, not compelling them to go to the mines, but looking forward to the time when they would become civilized and taxable communities.

What was wrong in theſe proviſions, however, might have been modified: and Las Caſas would have had leſs reaſon to be diſſatisfied, if the above had been the only inſtructions which the fathers were to carry out with them. But, as there were ſome perſons in this junta upon Indian affairs who held that the Indians would not live in polity, another ſo-called remedy was provided, in caſe the fathers ſhould conclude that the Indians were ſtill to remain in *repartimientos*. This remedy conſiſted in a modification of the laws of Burgos. In addition to theſe modifications of the laws of Burgos, the cardinal himſelf ſuggeſted two things: firſt, that there ſhould be a perſon to repreſent the Indians at court; and, ſecondly, that labourers ſhould be ſent out to the Indies from Caſtile. But theſe two propoſitions remained unacted upon at that time. It is very remarkable—and an excellent trait in Las Caſas—that he intimates that the cardinal was ready to provide more remedies than thoſe already named, for the evils endured by the Indians; but that he himſelf, Las Caſas, went about the matter with ſome timidity (*paſo á paſo, y como acobardado*), both from not having thought more on the ſubject, and alſo from knowing the tyranny of the Spaniards to be ſo deeply rooted.

The deſpatches for the Jeronimite Fathers be-

ing now concluded, other matters connected with this great propoſed reform were brought to a cloſe. Las Caſas was by a *cedula* formally appointed to adviſe and inform the Jeronimite Fathers, to write to the government, and generally to take ſuch ſteps in the matter as might be for the ſervice of God and their highneſſes. All authorities were to abet him in the ſame. He was alſo named "Protector of the Indians," with a ſalary of a hundred peſos of gold, which he himſelf obſerves "was then not little, as that hell of Peru" (*infierno del Peru*) "had not been diſcovered, which, "with its multitude of quintals of gold, has im- "poveriſhed and deſtroyed Spain." Theſe are remarkable words for that time.

Protector of the Indians named.

It now only remained, that the legal part of the reform contemplated by Ximenes, ſhould be provided for. For this the cardinal choſe a lawyer of repute called Zuazo, giving him very large powers. He was to take reſidence of all the judges in the Indies, and what was of more importance, his deciſions were not to be appealed againſt. The licentiate Zapata and Dr. Caravajal called theſe powers exorbitant (the reader will recollect, that Albuquerque, the firſt *repartidor*, was a couſin of Zapata's), and they refuſed to give their ſignature, which was neceſſary, to theſe in-

ſtructions.* This led to much delay. Zuazo threatened to return to Valladolid, ſaying, if he once got back to his college, no one ſhould get him out again. Upon this Las Caſas hurried off to the cardinal, who ſuppoſed that Zuazo had already gone upon his miſſion, when the clerigo informed his eminence of the delay and the cauſe of it. The cardinal, who, as Las Caſas then obſerves, was not a man to be played with (*ninguno con él ſe burlaba*) ſent for the licentiate Zapata and Dr. Caravajal, and bade them in his preſence ſign all the proviſions of the powers for Zuazo: which they did, putting, however a certain private mark to their ſignatures, which was to denote what they intended afterwards to ſay, that the cardinal had forced them to ſign.

At laſt, all was ready for theſe ſeeds of well-deviſed legiſlation to be taken out and ſown in the Indies. Las Caſas went to take leave of Ximenes

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* This has given occaſion to Robertſon to write the following paſſage, which has no foundation. "To veſt ſuch extraordinary "powers, as might at once overturn the ſyſtem of government "eſtabliſhed in the New World, in four perſons, who, from their "humble condition in life, were little entitled to poſſeſs this high "authority, appeared to Zapata, and other miniſters of the late "king, a meaſure ſo wild and dangerous, that they refuſed to "iſſue the deſpatches neceſſary for carrying it into execution."

The authority he refers to expreſsly contradicts him. Zapata there ſays "no ſe avia de fiar tanto de un hombre ſolo."

and to kiſs hands. He could not on this occaſion refrain from uttering his mind to the cardinal, telling him that the Jeronimite Fathers would do no good thing, and informing him of their interviews with the agents from the colonies. It moves our pity to think, that the ſick old man, wearied enough with rapacious Flemiſh courtiers and untameable Spaniſh grandees, ſhould now be told, after he had given ſo much time and attention to this buſineſs of the Indies, that the miſſion would do no good. Well may Las Caſas add, that the cardinal ſeemed ſtruck with alarm; and, after a ſhort time, ſaid, "Whom then can we truſt? "You are going there, look for all."* Upon this, after receiving the cardinal's benediction, Las Caſas left for Seville.

The Jeronimite Fathers and the clerigo then commenced their voyage, in different veſſels however, for probably being ſomewhat tired of his diſcourſes, and perhaps not wiſhing to alarm the coloniſts more than could be helped by being ſeen in ſuch cloſe contact with one ſo odious to them as Las Caſas, the Fathers had contrived on ſome

* "Pues de quien lo habemos de fiar? Allá vais, mirad por "todos."—Las Casas, *Hiſt. Gen.* l. 3. c. 89.

pretext to prevent his going with them, though he much wiſhed it. And when they arrived at St. Domingo, they ſeemed inclined there too to take a ſeparate courſe from what he thought right. He ſpeaks of them as gained over by the ſhrewd official men they fell amongſt, ſuch as the treaſurer Paſamonte. In diſcourſe with Las Caſas, the fathers began, he ſays, to gild over and excuſe the inhumanity of the coloniſts; and what was the main defect of their mode of going on in his eyes was, that they did not put in execution the charge that they had received, to take away the Indians from the Spaniſh judges and men in office, though they deprived the abſentees of their Indians.

The Jeronimites arrive at St. Domingo.

The Fathers aſked the opinion of the official perſons and alſo of the Franciſcans and Dominicans touching the liberty of the Indians. It was very clear beforehand what the anſwers would be. The official perſons and the Franciſcans pronounced againſt the Indians, and the Dominicans for them.

In three months time Zuazo arrived. Las Caſas now reſolved on a bold, perhaps we may ſay, a violent ſtep, though if we had been eye-witneſſes of the cruelties that he had ſeen, our indignation, like his, might not always have been

amenable to prudence. He reſolved to impeach, himſelf, the judges *(jueces de apelacion)*: to uſe his own phraſe, he brought againſt them a tremendous accuſation *(púſoles una terrible acuſacion)* on their conduct in regard to bringing Indians from the Lucayan iſlands, and alſo in reference to the infamous proceedings connected with that incident in Cumaná, before mentioned, whereby thoſe two poor Dominicans, Franciſco de Cordova and Juan Garces were left to be murdered by the natives. Certainly, if any charges were to be made againſt theſe judges, it muſt be admitted that the ſubjects of accuſation were well choſen.

The Jeronimite Fathers were much grieved at this accuſation of Las Caſas. They evidently wiſhed to manage things quietly; and were proceeding mainly with the ſecond claſs of remedies for the Indians, giving them in *repartimientos* to ſuch of the coloniſts as they thought well of, and publiſhing the orders for ameliorating the condition of the Indians.* The Fathers ſeem on the whole to have made great efforts to do good, which muſt not paſs without due notice. I think with Las Caſas, that if they had ventured to adopt the ſcheme, with which he and Dr. Palacios

* Herrera, dec. 2, l. 2, c. 15.

Rubios were ſo much concerned, it would have been better; and there is no doubt, that while Ximenes lived, they would have had a ſufficiently powerful protector, to enable them to carry out ſuch a meaſure. But, not reſolving upon ſuch a bold undertaking, and leaving many of the coloniſts (I ſuppoſe moſt of them) in poſſeſſion of their Indians, they ſtill made great efforts to carry out the ſecond claſs of meaſures for the relief of the Indians and the benefit of the colony. They looked well after the king's farms, they paid great attention to the cultivation of ſugar, and they impreſſed the Indians with ſuch an opinion of their power and willingneſs to protect them, that the Indians were emboldened to come to the fathers and make complaints of any injuries ſuffered by them.

Acting in the ſame ſpirit (and it ſhows the largeneſs of the powers with which the Jeronimite Fathers were inveſted) they wrote to Pedrarias, of whoſe proceedings they ſeem to have been made well aware, ordering him to make no more expeditions, and to ſend an account of the gold and ſlaves which had been the fruit of his paſt enterpriſes. They went even much further, and deſired that Pedrarias, taking into council the biſhop of Darien and ſome learned men, theolo-

gians and juriſts, ſhould examine whether thoſe Indians whom his captains had brought back, were juſtly made ſlaves; and if not, that they ſhould be reſtored. Theſe ſame learned men were alſo to make it a ſubject of enquiry whether theſe entries into the country were lawful. Las Caſas may complain of the Jeronimites, but I have no doubt they were more vigorous, and aimed at better purpoſes than almoſt any mere official perſons would have done: and their conduct illuſtrates to my mind, what I have long thought in government, that thoſe do beſt who are not ſtrictly bred up for it, and who are not, therefore, ſo likely to have the whole vigour and force of their natures encruſted with routine and deadened by a ſlaviſh belief in the incomplete traditions of the paſt.

Jeronimites form ſettlements.

Finally, and probably after Las Caſas had returned to Spain, the Jeronimite fathers formed ſome of the Indians into ſettlements conſiſting of four or five hundred; which might have thriven very well, for aught that is told us to the contrary, but that at that period, or a little before, the ſmall pox broke out with much virulence and carried off many of the natives. The deſtruction cauſed by this malady has been much exaggerated, and it has been put down as one of the great cauſes of

the depopulation of the Weſt Indies; but in reality, the utmoſt number of perſons who were collected together in theſe ſettlements, were not more than between eleven and twelve hundred, while hundreds of thouſands had long ere this been deſtroyed by other cauſes.

Such meaſured proceedings as the Jeronimite Fathers at firſt adopted, did not accord with the temperament of Las Caſas; neither were they ſuch remedies as the fearful nature of the diſeaſe demanded. Moreover, in addition to his diſapproval of their meaſures, he diſtruſted the men themſelves. He ſtates that they had relations whom they wiſhed to benefit in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, but as they feared him too much to do ſo there, they recommended theſe relations to Diego Velaſquez, the governor of Cuba; and Las Caſas obſerved, that in a letter which he happened to ſee when they were about to cloſe it, they ſigned themſelves "Chaplains to Your Honour," (*Capellanes de Vueſtra Merced*) a mode of deſcribing themſelves which ſeemed to him concluſive of the poſition the Fathers were going to take up with regard to this governor. The protector of the Indians, therefore, reſolved to return to Caſtile to appeal againſt the Fathers: and in this he was ſtrengthened by the opinion of Zuazo and Pedro

de Cordova, the head of the Dominican order in thoſe parts.

The Fathers were much diſconcerted when they heard of the intention of Las Caſas to return to court, ſaying that he was a torch that would ſet every thing in a flame, and they had thoughts of ſtopping him; but this was not within the ſcope of their powers. What they could do, and what they afterwards did, was to ſend one of their own body to court, to make repreſentations on their behalf.

Las Caſas returns to Spain, 1517.

Meanwhile the clerigo left St. Domingo in May, 1517, and in July reached Aranda on the Douro, where he found cardinal Ximenes at the point of death. Las Caſas ſeems fated to appear to great perſonages a few days before their death. This time, though, whatever complaints he might have been able to make of the adminiſtration of Indian affairs, he had nothing to ſay which could wound the conſcience of the dying ſtateſman. The clerigo's letters to Ximenes had, he ſays, been intercepted, and, in the little that paſſed between them then, the protector of the Indians found the cardinal ill-informed of what had occurred in Hiſpaniola.

It will be well to quit for a moment the bed of

the dying cardinal, to ſee what was the political ſtate of the court and kingdom of Spain at this period. Ximenes had throughout his regency urged upon Charles the Fifth the neceſſity of coming forthwith to take poſſeſſion of his Spaniſh dominions. This had been delayed from time to time. At laſt Charles had ſet ſail from Flanders, and being driven by a great ſtorm, he landed unexpectedly at Villa Vicioſa in the province of Aſturias. The common people of that remote diſtrict, imagining they beheld a French fleet, retired into the mountains: but from the royal ſhip were proclaimed the words "Spain, Spain, our "Catholic king, our king;" on which caſting down their arms, as ſome evil things which they had taken up unawares, they threw themſelves on their knees and raiſed their voices to the ſtars. Such is Peter Martyr's pictureſque account in one of his letters of the landing of Charles.

Charles the 5th lands in Spain.

Meanwhile the cardinal had moved from Aranda to Roa, a diſtance of about twenty miles. The ſtate of his health may be ſeen from his mode of travelling. "His ſhoes, gloves and ſleeves were "covered with precious ſkins which they call ze-"bellines; he was alſo well wrapped in woollen "garments when he entered his litter. There "was at his feet a ſilver chafing-diſh with juniper

" aſhes, and in his hands he carried a ſilver globe " with hot iron inſide."*

Many of the courtiers and official perſons ſet off at once to ſee Charles, without aſking the leave of Ximenes, who complained of this move of theirs. Charles rebuked them ſeverely by letter, and commanded them to return. This does not look like diſreſpect on Charles's part. But he has been accuſed, not merely of diſreſpect, but of the groſſeſt ingratitude, towards the cardinal. That the Flemiſh courtiers were unwilling to let their royal maſter confer with Ximenes, was the general report at that time, and it may have been true. Charles himſelf, however, was but a boy of ſixteen, and, like a well-conditioned youth of that age, was greatly, if not entirely, under the guidance of thoſe who had brought him up, eſpecially of his governor, Chièvres, the lord of Croy. If, therefore, the prince had at this time ſaid or done anything arguing thoughtleſſneſs of the ſervices of Ximenes, it could have been matter of little reproach to him. What he did do was this. Before

* Gomecius de rebus geſtis Ximenii, l. 7, p. 230.

See alſo Peter Martyr's account of the cardinal's health, epiſt. " 598. Cardinalis gubernator Matriti febribus aegrotaverat. con- " valuerat. nunc recidivavit.——Breves fore dies illius, Medici " autumant. eſt octogenario major."

ſeeing Ximenes he determined to go to Tordeſillas to ſee his mother. Whether this was ſuggeſted by deſigning courtiers, or by his own heart, it certainly was not an ill-adviſed meaſure, or one that was likely to do him diſſervice with the Spaniſh people, who were always extremely jealous of the rights and claims of Juana. Charles then wrote a letter* to the cardinal. In this letter the king begins by telling him that he is going to Tordeſillas (to ſee his mother) that he and the cardinal ſhould meet at Mojador, where after they had tranſacted together ſome matters of ſtate, and he (Charles) had taken counſel of the cardinal for arranging his private affairs and ſettling his whole houſehold, the cardinal ſhould then conſult his repoſe by returning home; "that he had under-

* This letter and the effect of it on Ximenes has been thus deſcribed. "He lamented the fate of his country, and foretold the "calamities which it would ſuffer from the inſolence, the rapa- "cioufneſs, and ignorance of ſtrangers. While his mind was "agitated by theſe paſſions, he received a letter from the king, in "which after a few cold and formal expreſſions of regard, he was "allowed to retire to his dioceſs, that, after a life of ſuch con- "tinued labour, he might end his days in tranquillity. This "meſſage proved fatal to Ximenes. His haughty mind, it is pro- "bable, could not ſurvive diſgrace; perhaps his generous heart "could not bear the proſpect of the misfortunes ready to fall on "his country. Whichſoever of theſe opinions we embrace, cer- "tain it is that he expired a few hours after reading the letter." ROBERTSON'S *Charles the Fifth.*

" gone enough labour for the ſtate, the reward " for which, ſince no mortal could worthily repay " it, he muſt expect from God; that he (Charles) " would, as long as he lived, be grateful to him, " and would go on in that obſervance towards " him which ſons well brought up are wont to " pay the beſt of fathers." What effect this letter might have produced upon the cardinal, we do not know. His honeſt biographer, Gomez, notwithſtanding the temptation of a biographer to make a ſcenic ending for his hero, thus ſpeaks out, " Theſe letters being received from Charles, Xi- " menes, plainly perceiving himſelf to be rejected " and repelled, was ſeized, as they ſay, with a " fatal fever. But Abulenſis, who writes of this " thing to Lupus" (Lupus was of the cardinal's houſehold, then living, a friend of the author, who furniſhed him with a great part of the materials for the cardinal's life) " ſays that Ximenes " was attacked by the fever the evening preceding " the receipt of theſe letters and therefore they " were not ſhown him, but were ſent to the coun- " cil."* There is no doubt he never ſaw the

* " His literis a Carolo acceptis, Ximenius ſe plane rejici repel- " lique ſentiens, febri lethali (ut ferunt) correptus fuit. Abulenſis " vero, qui de hac re ad Lupum ſcribit, pridie quam hæ literae " Ximenio redditae eſſent, ſub veſperam ea febri laboraſſe ait:

letter; nor need we look far, to account for the death of a man of eighty, who had undergone a moſt laborious life, and whoſe ſtate of health had for ſome time been moſt critical. As well as we can judge, the cardinal's feelings towards Charles were thoſe of confidence in his gratitude: for a little before he died, he began to dictate a letter to Charles, in which he commended to the king his univerſity, his monaſteries and his houſehold. This letter he was unable to ſign.*

Death of Ximenes.

After he had received the laſt offices of his church and had been anointed, repeating to himſelf that pſalm "In te Domine ſperavi," "In thee, "O Lord, have I truſted," he breathed forth his laſt.

I have not thought it an unworthy digreſſion,

"atque idcirco Caroli literas graviter jam aegrotanti datas non "eſſe, ſed ad ſenatum regium miſſas. Adriano vero qui eas "literas miſerat, VII. idus Novembris reſcripſiſſe, quo in ſtatu "Ximenius eſſet: nam eo ipſo die quo literas receperat, decimam "octavam horam a febris incremento numerari, et medicos affir- "mare vigeſima quarta e vita migraturum."—GOMECIUS *de rebus geſtis Ximenii*, lib. 7, p. 241.

* "Paulo antequam moreretur, epiſtolam dictare ad Carolum "coeperat, quâ illi ſuam Academiam, et coenobia a ſe conſtructa "et dotata, familiamque ſuam ſuppliciter commendabat, ſed digi- "torum rigido ſtupore ſubſcribere non valuit." GOMECIUS, lib. 7, p. 242.

if anything affecting the character of thoſe we have largely to do with in any hiſtory can be called a digreſſion from it, to give, on the authority of his earlieſt biographer, the above account of the death of Ximenes. For Ximenes to have died of this letter would have been as unworthy a thing as for Charles to have written a letter which could wound ſo deeply a faithful, public ſervant, and ſuch an attached follower to the royal houſe.

To any of thoſe who either at that period, or the preſent time, have been deeply intereſted in the hiſtory of the New World, and have been hoping that at laſt ſome great mind would look into the perplexed affairs there, and ſet them to rights, the loſs of Ximenes ſeems irreparable. We feel that he was a man who might have remedied the evils in that new formed country. Throughout the whole arrangements for the Jeronimite miſſion, his conduct realiſes for the moment what the ſtudent of hiſtory, unverſed in the difficulty of managing men, fancies might be done, and what he himſelf, poor ſtudent, would do, if he had the power. There are even kindly traits in it, which according to the common notion of Ximenes, we ſhould not have expected to meet. And, indeed, I doubt whether any tranſaction of his life elicits

more of his character than this miſſion, which has now for the firſt time, I believe, been made known in full detail from the manuſcript hiſtory of Las Caſas. Like a great man, too, of our own times, the cardinal ſeemed to appreciate the difficulty of government and the neceſſity for it. Then he was "ſo clear in his great office." Peculation, unjuſt heed of relationſhip, and mean doings of all kinds, muſt have withered up in his preſence. He was like a city on the margin of deep waters, ſuch as Genoa, where no receding tide reveals anything that is mean, or ſqualid, or unbecoming. Of a ſpirit as great as our own Chatham, but with more ſimplicity, he was the man to make a whole nation think after him. His ſubordinates could have relied on his ſupport, and the pulſations of his conſtant mind would have been felt in the moſt diſtant regions of his action.

The force and influence of the Jeronimite miſſion periſhed with him; and we ſhall have to take up the next portion of this hiſtory under new auſpices, and to find the very policy which he had wiſely condemned, adopted by thoſe who ſucceeded to his power, but not to his wiſdom or his complete integrity.

If he had lived but a year or two longer, and Charles the Fifth had happily not liſtened to the

prayers of his Spaniſh ſubjects, but ſtayed in Flanders, it is not improbable that a widely different fate would have attended the Indian and the negro race. On ſuch comparatively ſmall events, humanly ſpeaking, does the fate, not only of nations, but of races, turn; as if they were neſts of inſects which are deſtroyed or ſaved, as the huſbandman happens to turn his attention to the right hand or the left, and thus, unheedingly, avoids, or cruſhes, whole communities.

CHAPTER VIII.

Administration of the Flemish Courtiers—Las Casas's Plan for Founding a Colony.

THOSE who have never lived at courts have been very apt to magnify the wickedneſs and treachery of ſuch places, juſt as thoſe who dwell in the country are prone to believe in the ſingular wickedneſs of towns; but, after all, Virtue, like the reſt of us, being ſometimes very weary of dulneſs, quits groves and primeval ſettlements, to take up her abode with poliſhed people. And, certainly, whenever the courſe of this narrative conducts us to the Court of Spain, we are ſure of meeting with ſympathy at leaſt for the injured, and generally in ſome quarter or other with earneſt endeavour to redreſs the wrong, which ſtand in ſtriking and favourable contraſt with the terrible oppreſſions and miſdeeds that meet our eyes at every turn in the proceedings of the Spaniſh coloniſts. I am reminded of this by an incident which occurred in Trinidad about this time, and which will ſerve to ſhow what

enormities were occaſionally perpetrated in the Weſt Indies, even under the ſupervifion of the Jeronimite Fathers ; and ſuch a narrative, moreover, will give us a deeper intereſt in the efforts of the protector of the Indians, will explain his vehemence, and tend to juſtify his views.

Here, too, I muſt premiſe that Las Caſas may, I think, be thoroughly truſted whenever he is ſpeaking of things of which he has competent knowledge. Seeing his vehemence, an ordinary obſerver might be apt to doubt his accuracy, though there has never been a greater miſtake, or a much more common one, than to confound vehemence with inaccuracy. Far from being an inaccurate man, he is ſtudiouſly accurate, which is to be ſeen throughout his hiſtory in all manner of little things. His countenance, too, is that of an acute lawyer, extremely benevolent, but at the ſame time very brilliant, and alſo elegant. He was not eſpecially fitted for an eccleſiaſtic,* except ſo far as a man of the world, if eſſentially a good man, may make an excellent eccleſiaſtic, as often hap-

Portrait of Las Caſas.

* In a very naive way he lets you ſee ſomehow or other in his hiſtory, that it was not ſo much care for the faith, though he was a deeply religious man, as natural pity that led him to eſpouſe the cauſe of the Indians, which, eſpecially in thoſe times, would have been thought ſo much the inferior motive.

pens. He was, moreover, a gentleman, and in his hiſtory ſhows delicacy and kindneſs in ſuppreſſing names where there is no occaſion to mention them, and where the bringing perſons forward would give them or their deſcendants unneceſſary pain. I make no excuſe for giving occaſionally theſe remarks upon Las Caſas, as he is one of the principal authorities for theſe times; and to underſtand them, it is requiſite to underſtand him.

Juan Bono's ſtory.

The following narrative of what occurred at Trinidad, to hear which we are going to quit the court of Spain for a time, is given on the authority of Las Caſas. There was a certain man called Juan Bono, and he was employed by the auditor of the audience of St. Domingo to go and get Indians. He and his men, to the number of fifty or ſixty, landed on the iſland of Trinidad. Now the Indians of Trinidad were a mild, loving, credulous race, the enemies of the Caribs, who ate human fleſh. On Juan Bono's landing, the Indians, armed with bows and arrows, went to meet the Spaniards, and to aſk them who they were and what they wanted. Juan Bono replied, that his crew were good and peaceful people, who had come to live with the Indians; upon which, as the commencement of good fellowſhip, they offered to build houſes for the Spaniards. The Spaniſh captain

expreſſed a wiſh to have one big houſe built. The accommodating Indians ſet about building it. It was to be in the form of a bell, and to be large enough for a hundred perſons to live in. Of courſe on any great occaſion it would hold many more. Every day, while this big houſe was being built, the Spaniards were fed with fiſh, bread, and fruit by their good-natured hoſts. Juan Bono was very anxious to ſee the roof on, and the Indians continued to work at the building with alacrity. At laſt it was completed, being two ſtories high, and ſo conſtructed that thoſe within could not ſee thoſe without. Upon a certain day Juan Bono collected the Indians together, men, women, and children, in the building, to ſee, as he told them, "what was to be done." Whether they thought they were coming to ſome feſtival, or that they were to do ſomething more for the big houſe, does not appear. However, there they all were, four hundred of them, looking with great delight at their own handiwork. Meanwhile, Juan Bono brought his men round the building, with drawn ſwords in their hands: then, having thoroughly entrapped his Indian friends, he entered with a party of armed men, and bade the Indians keep ſtill, or he would kill them. They did not liſten to him, but ruſhed againſt the door. A horrible

maſſacre enſued. Some of the Indians forced their way out, but many of them, horrified at what they ſaw, and loſing heart, were captured and bound. A hundred, however, eſcaped, and ſnatching up their arms, aſſembled in one of their own houſes, and prepared to defend themſelves. Juan Bono ſummoned them to ſurrender: they would not hear of it; and then, as Las Caſas ſays, "he re-" ſolved to pay them completely for the hoſpita-" lity and kind treatment he had received," and ſo, ſetting fire to the houſe, the whole hundred, men, women, and children, were burnt alive. The Spaniſh captain and his men retired to the ſhips with their captives: and his veſſel happening to land at Puerto Rico when the Jeronimite Fathers were there, gave occaſion to Las Caſas to complain of this proceeding to the Fathers, who, however, did nothing to remedy it. The reader will be ſurpriſed to hear the clerigo's authority for this narration. It is Juan Bono himſelf. "From his " own mouth I heard that which I write." Juan Bono acknowledged that never in his life had he met with the kindneſs of father and mother but in the iſland of Trinidad. "Well, then, man " of perdition, why did you reward them with " ſuch ungrateful wickedneſs and cruelty?" "On " my faith, Padre, becauſe they (he meant the

" auditors) gave me for deſtruction (he meant " ' inſtruction') to take them in peace if I could " not by war."

Such were the tranſactions which Las Caſas muſt have had in his mind when he was pleading the cauſe of the Indians at the court of Spain; and I am ſure we ſhould none of us quite like a man who, brooding over theſe things, and ſtruggling to find a remedy for them, was always temperate in his language and courtly in his demeanour. I feel confident St. Paul would not have been ſo.

Returning now to the court of Spain, which this ſhort abſence in barbarous parts will have made more welcome to the reader, I will recount what took place immediately upon the death of the great cardinal. On that event the adminiſtration of the affairs of Spain inevitably fell into much confuſion. The king, as was mentioned before, was only ſixteen years old; and it could not be expected that he was yet to have much real weight in affairs. It has been a common ſaying, that he did not give promiſe, at this period of his life, of the ſagacity which he afterwards manifeſted. This is a miſtake: nobody that gives us any record of thoſe times knew more of the court than Peter Martyr; he was a remarkably ſincere man,

and his teſtimony in favour of the young king's abilities is very ſtrong.* The truth is, that Charles was as a boy what he turned out to be as a man, grave, undemonſtrative, cautious, and yet valiant. No doubt he was very obſervant; and I think it is manifeſt that the information he now obtained about Indian affairs ſwayed him throughout his reign, and, as it appears, influenced him in the only affair where his advice was all-powerful, when he had withdrawn for the moſt part from all human affairs. At this time of his life he truſted to his councillors, like a ſenſible boy, was very conſtant to them, and exceſſively liberal to all perſons about him.

Chièvres and Salvagius rule Spain.

The two men who had now the ſupreme authority in Spain were Chièvres, the king's former governor, and the grand chancellor, Selvagius. The chancellor ſettled all matters connected with juſtice; the other, thoſe connected with patronage. Las Caſas ſpeaks well of the diſpoſition of the Flemings, eſpecially of their humanity; and he ſeems to think that the chancellor was an upright man. Peter Martyr, on the other hand, inveighs furiouſly againſt the rapaciouſneſs of the Flemiſh

* "Quoad Regem nil eſt quod poſſit ultra deſiderari. Eſt a "natura omni egregia dote præditus."—Epiſt. 608. See alſo Epiſt. 113, on the quickneſs with which the king learnt Spaniſh.

courtiers, and eſpecially againſt that of Chièvres and the chancellor. He ſays that all things at court are now venal: the Flemiſh courtiers are harpies and hydras; their power of ſwallowing money he compares to wells and whirlpools; and, dropping the metaphorical ſtyle, tells us in plain proſe that they remitted to Flanders one million one hundred thouſand ducats. Added to which, they appear to have taken but little delight in Spain as a country to live in, and were only anxious to get back to their own northern regions, as if they were the regions of the bleſt, "notwithſtanding," as he ſays, "they do not deny that "in their own country they live the greater part "of the year moſt wretched, by reaſon of the "thick ice." Then they make no account of the Spaniards, who "redden with ſhame, bite their "lips, and murmur ſecretly." * One thing, however, Peter Martyr mentions as a great diſcredit to the Flemiſh chancellor, which will not be thought ſo in theſe times. It appears that Selvagius was averſe to the powers exerciſed by the Inquiſition; and, when the chancellor is ill, Peter Martyr ſays, "It would be for the good of the "ſacred Inquiſition that the chancellor ſhould be

* Epiſt. 608.

" gathered to his fathers."* Bribery on the part of the neophytes is alleged as the cauſe of the chancellor's hoſtility to the Inquiſition; but ſurely it may well be imagined that a lawyer would be very likely to view with great diſfavour the mode of proceeding with witneſſes adopted by the Inquiſition.

The Flemiſh miniſters were not without their eſpecial perplexities. They did not know whom to truſt, or what to do: and they were too cautious to act without ſufficient knowledge. They did not even know the language. The king himſelf was buſy learning it. In this ſtate of things the public buſineſs languiſhed.

The affairs of the Indies, however, gained more attention than might have been expected at this juncture. It happened thus. As Las Caſas had been at St. Domingo, on his way to appeal againſt the proceedings of the Jeronimite Fathers, he had ſeen thoſe Franciſcan monks from Picardy who had now been ſome time in the iſland; and, as the reader may remember, had formed part of Pedro de Cordova's company, when he ſet out for

* " Sacræ Inquiſitionis hæreſeos expedit ut majores viſat ſuos. " Niſi Atropos ejus filum diſruperit, ſacra proſtrabitur inquiſitio " et miſeri regis fama ſternetur qui ſe patitur a talibus Harpyis " gubernari."—Epiſt. 620.

the Terra Firma. Theſe monks, with others, had ſigned letters of recommendation in favour of Las Caſas, and by good fortune ſome of the foreign monks were known to the grand chancellor, and their ſignatures proved a favourable introduction for the protector of the Indians. He ſoon enlarged the advantages ariſing from this introduction; and at laſt became on ſuch terms with the chancellor, that this great functionary uſed to give Las Caſas all the letters and memorials from the coloniſts or their repreſentatives, and the clerigo then turned them into Latin and made his remarks upon them, ſhowing what was true and what was falſe, or wherein he approved, or diſſented from, the views of the writer. Finally, the grand chancellor ſpoke of Las Caſas to the king, and received the king's commands that they two ſhould conſult together and provide a remedy for the bad government of the Indies.*

The Chancellor and Las Caſas legiſlate for the Indies.

Again, therefore, great hopes might naturally be entertained that ſomething effectual would now be done on behalf of the Indians. Las Caſas prepared his memorials, taking for his baſis the plan which the Jeronimites had carried out to Hiſpa-

* "Dominus noſter jubet quod vos et ego apponamus remedia "Indiis, faciatis veſtra memorialia."

niola, and which by this time they had partially acted upon. He added, however, ſome other things, amongſt them, that of ſecuring to the Indians their entire liberty. And he provided a ſcheme for furniſhing Hiſpaniola with labourers from the mother country.

The outline of this ſcheme was as follows. The king was to give to every labourer willing to emigrate to Hiſpaniola his living during the journey from his place of abode to Seville, at the rate of half a real a day throughout the journey, for great and ſmall, child and parent. At Seville the emigrants were to be lodged in the *Caſa de la Contratacion* (the India Houſe), and were to have from eleven to thirteen maravedis a day. From thence they were to have a free paſſage to Hiſpaniola, and to be provided with food for a year.* And if the climate "ſhould try them ſo "much," that at the expiration of this year they ſhould not be able to work for themſelves, the king was to continue to maintain them, but this extra maintenance was to be put down to the account of the emigrants, as a loan which they were to repay. The king was to give them lands (his

Propoſed emigration from Spain.

* "Un año de comer haſta que ellos lo tuvieſen de ſuyo."—Las Casas, MSS.

own lands), furniſh them with ploughſhares and ſpades, and provide medicines for them. Laſtly, whatever rights and profits accrued from their holdings were to be hereditary. This was certainly a moſt liberal plan of emigration, in addition to which there were other privileges held out to theſe labourers.

In connexion with the above ſcheme, Las Caſas, unfortunately for his repute in after ages, added another proviſion, namely, that each Spaniſh reſident in the iſland ſhould have licenſe to import a dozen or ſo of negro ſlaves. Licence to import Negroes.

The origin of this ſuggeſtion was, as he informs us, that the coloniſts had told him, that if licenſe were given to them to import a dozen negro ſlaves each, they, the coloniſts, would then ſet free the Indians. And ſo, recollecting that ſtatement of the coloniſts, he added this proviſion. Las Caſas, writing his hiſtory in his old age, thus frankly owns his error. "This advice, "that licenſe ſhould be given to bring negro "ſlaves to theſe lands, the clerigo Caſas firſt gave, "not heeding the injuſtice with which the Portu- "gueſe take them and make them ſlaves; which "advice, after he had apprehended the nature of "the thing, he would not have given for all he

" had in the world. For he always held that " they had been made ſlaves unjuſtly and tyran- " nically: for the ſame reaſon holds good of them " as of the Indians."* The above confeſſion is delicately and truthfully worded—" not heeding " —he does not ſay, not being aware of; but though it was a matter known to him, his moral ſenſe was not watchful, as it were, about it. We muſt be careful not to preſs the admiſſions of a generous mind too far, or to exaggerate the importance of the ſuggeſtion of Las Caſas.

Negro ſlavery not introduced into the Indies by Las Caſas.

It would be quite erroneous to look upon this ſuggeſtion as being the introduction of negro ſlavery. From the earlieſt times of the diſcovery of America, negroes had been ſent there; my readers have already ſeen Ferdinand's letters about them; the young king Charles, had, while in Flanders, granted licenſes to his courtiers for the import of negroes to Hiſpaniola. But what is of more importance, and what it is ſtrange that Las

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* " Eſte aviſo de que ſe dieſe licencia para traer eſclavos ne- " gros á eſtas tierras, dió primero el clérigo Caſas, no advirtiendo " la injuſticia con que los Portugueſes los toman y hacen eſclavos; " el qual deſpues de que cayó en ello no lo diera por quanto habia " en el mundo. Porque ſiempre los tuvo por injuſta y tiránica- " mente hechos eſclavos: porque la miſma razon es de ellos que " de los Indios."—Las Casas, *Hiſt. de las Indias*, lib. 3, tom. 2, cap. 101.

Caſas was not aware of, or did not mention, the Jeronimite Fathers had alſo come to the concluſion, that negroes muſt be introduced into the Weſt Indies. Writing in January 1518, when they could not have known what was paſſing in Spain in relation to this ſubject, they recommended licenſes to be given to the inhabitants of Hiſpaniola or to other perſons, to bring negroes there.* From the tenor of their letter it appears that they had before recommended the ſame thing. Zuazo, the judge of reſidence, wrote to the ſame effect. He, however, ſuggeſted that the negroes ſhould be placed in ſettlements and married. Fray Bernardino de Manzanedo, the Jeronimite Father, ſent over to counteract Las Caſas, gave the ſame advice as his brethren about the introduction of negroes. He added a proviſo, which does not appear in their letter (perhaps it was in one of

* "En eſpecial que á ellas ſe puedan traer negros bozales y "para los traer de la calidad que ſabemos que para acá combiene "que Vueſtra Alteza nos mande embiar facultad para que deſde "eſta iſla ſe arme para ir por ellos á las Iſlas de Cavo verde y "tierra de Guinea ó que eſto ſe pueda hacer por otra cualquiera "perſona deſde eſos para los traer acá. Y crea Vueſtra Alteza "que ſi eſto ſe concede demas de ſer mucho probecho para los "pobladores deſtas Iſlas y rentas de Vueſtra Alteza ſerlo ha para "que eſtos indios ſus vaſallos ſean cuidados y relevados en el tra- "bajo y pueden mas aprobechar á ſus ánimas y á ſu multiplica- "cion."—MS. *Coleccion de Muñoz*, tomo 76.

the earlier ones), that there ſhould be as many women as men ſent over, or more.*

The ſuggeſtion of Las Caſas was approved of by the chancellor and by Adrian the colleague of the late cardinal: and, indeed, it is probable there was hardly a man of that time who would have ſeen further than the excellent clerigo did. Las Caſas was aſked, what number of negroes would ſuffice? He replied that he did not know; upon which a letter was ſent to the officers of the India Houſe at Seville, to aſcertain the fit number in their opinion. They ſaid that four thouſand would at preſent ſuffice, being one thouſand for each of the iſlands, Hiſpaniola, San Juan, Cuba, and Jamaica. Somebody now ſuggeſted to the Governor De Breſa, a Fleming of much influence and a member of the council, that he ſhould aſk for this licenſe to be given to him. De Breſa accordingly aſked the king for it, who granted his requeſt; and he ſold this licenſe to certain Genoeſe merchants for twenty-five thouſand ducats, having obtained from the king a pledge that for eight years he ſhould give no other licenſe of this kind.

* "Los de la Eſpañola todos piden licencia para llebar negros "pues no baſtan los Indios. Eſto á todos allá nos pareció bien, "ſiendo tantas ó mas hembras que varones."—*Coleccion de Muñoz*, tomo 76.

The conſequence of this monopoly enjoyed by theſe Genoeſe merchants was, that negroes were ſold at a great price, of which there are frequent complaints. Both Las Caſas and Paſamonte (rarely found in accord) ſuggeſted to the king that it would be better to pay the twenty-five thouſand ducats and reſume the licenſe, or to abridge its term. Figueroa, writing to the Emperor from St. Domingo in July 1520, ſays, "Negroes are very much in requeſt: none have "come for about a year. It would have been "better to have given De Breſa the cuſtom duties "(i. e. the duties that had been uſually paid on "the importation of ſlaves) than to have placed "a prohibition."* I have ſcarcely a doubt that the practical effect of the meaſure adopted on the clerigo's ſuggeſtion was greatly to check that importation of negro ſlaves, which otherwiſe, had the licenſe been general, would have been very abundant.

Before quitting this part of the ſubject, ſomething muſt be ſaid for Las Caſas which he does

* "Negros ſon muy deſeados: ningunos han venido ha cerca "de un año. Mejor huviera ſido darle los derechos al de Breſa "que poner eſtanco." M.S. *Coleccion de Muñoz*, tomo 76.

not allege for himſelf.* This ſuggeſtion of his about the negroes was not an iſolated one. Had all his ſuggeſtions been carried out, and the Indians thereby been preſerved, as I firmly believe they might have been, theſe negroes might have remained a very inſignificant number in the general population. By the deſtruction of Indians a void in the laborious part of the community was conſtantly being created, which had to be filled up by the labour of negroes. The negroes could bear the labour in the mines much better than the Indians; and a man who perceived a race, of whoſe chriſtian virtues and capabilities he thought highly, fading away by reaſon of being ſubjected to labour which their natures were incompetent to endure, and which they were moſt unjuſtly condemned to, might prefer the miſery of the ſmaller number of another race as unjuſtly treated but more capable of enduring it. I do not ſay that Las Caſas conſidered all theſe things; but at any rate, in eſtimating his conduct, we muſt recollect, that we look at the matter centuries after it occurred, and ſee all the extent of the evil ariſing from circumſtances which no man could then be

* Las Caſas is much miſrepreſented by Herrera, who gives an account of the ſuggeſtion as if it were made, not in addition, but in ſubſtitution for other meaſures.

expected to foresee, and which were inconsistent with the rest of the clerigo's plans for the preservation of the Indians.

I suspect that the wisest amongst us would very likely have erred with him: and I am not sure that taking all his plans together and taking for granted, as he did then, that his influence at court was to last, his suggestion about the negroes was an impolitic one.

One more piece of advice Las Casas gave at this time, which, if it had been adopted, would have been most serviceable. He proposed that forts for mercantile purposes, containing about thirty persons, should be erected at intervals along the coast of the Terra Firma, to traffic with merchandise of Spain for gold, silver and precious stones: and, in each of these forts, ecclesiastics were to be placed to treat of spiritual matters. In this scheme may be seen an anticipation of our own plans for commercial intercourse with Africa. And, indeed, one is constantly reminded by the proceedings in those times of what we know to have occurred much later and under the auspices of other nations.

Of all these suggestions, some of them certainly excellent, the only questionable one was at once adopted. Such is the irony of things. If we may

imagine, as we may, ſuperior beings looking on at the affairs of men, and bearing ſome unperceived part of the great conteſt in the world, this was a thing to have gladdened all the hoſts of hell.

Turning our thoughts from bad angels to bad men, it is diſmaying to find the biſhop of Burgos creeping back to power juſt at this period. For a long time the biſhop had been quite in the background: and Conchillos, Ferdinand's miniſter, who alſo formerly had great weight in the government of the Indies, finding himſelf without any authority, had retired to his eſtate. But now, owing, it is ſaid, to the effect of ſixteen thouſand ducats, or becauſe the biſhop had been ſo long engaged in the Indian adminiſtration that his abſence was felt (for Las Caſas is by no means certain of the bribery), the biſhop was recalled to the council; and he oppoſed, as quietly as he could, the excellent plans of Las Caſas for coloniſation. The biſhop ſaid, that for theſe twenty years he had been endeavouring to find labourers to go to the Indies, and that he had not yet found twenty men to go. Las Caſas engaged to find three thouſand. The clerigo, too, could give a reaſon why the biſhop had not ſucceeded in getting

labourers, ſaying that it was becauſe the Indies had been made a penal colony.

At the time of theſe altercations in the council, the court had been moving from Valladolid, in order that the king might take formal poſſeſſion of the throne of Aragon. In the courſe of the journey, at Aranda on the Douro, Las Caſas fell ill, and was left behind, much regretted, as he tells us, even the boy king ſaying "I wonder "how Micer Bartholomew is" (*Oh que tal eſtará Micer Bartolomé*). The king, young as he was, was likely to approve of a ſound-hearted man like Las Caſas, and though a perſon who has but one ſubject is apt to be rather troubleſome, yet his devotedneſs elicits a certain intereſt for him: moreover anything that has life and earneſtneſs in it, is welcome to ſombre people. I am particular in noticing this liking of the young king for Las Caſas, as I cannot but attribute ſome of the king's future proceedings with regard to the Indians to the information he was ſilently acquiring from Las Caſas at this period. So good ſeed is not loſt, which ſhould be a comfort to thoſe who in their own time ſeem to do nothing. In a few days the clerigo, whom the court left ill at Aranda, got better, and he overtook them before they reached Saragoſſa. The grand chancellor received

him very kindly. The great buſineſs of the reformation of the Indian government, of which the part only that was to be no reformation had been accompliſhed, was now to be proceeded with. Again, however, it was delayed, this time by the illneſs of the biſhop of Burgos, who muſt now be conſulted, though, as Las Caſas retained his full favour with the chancellor, of which there is good evidence, the biſhop was not able to thwart the views of the clerigo. At laſt, on the biſhop's recovery, the junta for the buſineſs of the Indies was on the point of being called together, "to-"morrow" it may be (Las Caſas is ſpeaking of a certain Friday when he is to ſup with the chancellor), when, in the evening of that day, his ſervants tell the chancellor that a little page of his, a nephew, who was ill in the houſe, is dead, at which he appeared very ſorrowful. "To-morrow" the chancellor himſelf feels ill, and does not go to the palace. There are ſymptoms of fever. On Monday, however, he is well enough to go to the window of his room. We may imagine with what anxiety Las Caſas watched the illneſs: it may be that he was the very perſon who, ever on the watch, ſaw the chancellor at the window. But the fever was not to be baffled; they did not bleed the poor man in time, according to the

A great reverſe for Las Caſas.

theory of thoſe days; he died; and on Wedneſday he was not even on the face of the earth. "And the grand chancellor being dead, of a truth "there died for that time all hope of a remedy "for the Indians."

This, as Las Caſas remarks, was the ſecond time, when the ſalvation of thoſe nations ſeemed aſſured, and then altogether hope vaniſhed away. So frightfully valuable is the life of a great man in a deſpotic ſtate: and it may conſole us, who live under repreſentative governments, for a certain mediocrity and difficulty in the management of public affairs, that at leaſt we are not ſubject to theſe dreadful reverſes occaſioned by the loſs of any one man. What is gained by us is moſtly gained upon the increaſe of inſight in large bodies of men, and is to live and augment itſelf with the advancement of the general thought of the nation.

Upon the grand chancellor's death, the biſhop of Burgos inſtantly regained all his old influence in the government of the Indies; and down went the clerigo "into the abyſſes," as he expreſſes it. Nothing was to be done with the interim chancellor, a very phlegmatic dean, who praiſed the clerigo's unwearied efforts, but could not ſummon

up energy enough to aſſiſt him: "and certainly" to uſe our hiſtorian's own words, "when a man "of a choleric temperament, like the clerigo, and "an exceſſively phlegmatic man, like the good "dean, have to tranſact buſineſs together, it is no "ſlight torment to each of them: however," he ſlyly adds, "it did not kill the dean, ſuch was his "phlegmatic patience."

Council for the Indies.

At this time, on the biſhop of Burgos's ſuggeſtion, an eſpecial council for Indian affairs was formed. He was appointed preſident; Hernando de Vega and Zapata, both of whom had connexions in the colonies, and who had themſelves been deprived of Indians by the firſt law of Ximenes, were of this council; Peter Martyr, the hiſtorian, was put upon it; and Don Garcia de Padilla, the only perſon in the council likely to take up new views. The appointment of ſuch a council was a very diſheartening thing for Las Caſas, who, neverthelefs, like a brave man as he was, went about his work juſt as if all were ſmooth before him and ſunny upon him.

Jeronimites recalled.

The firſt act of the biſhop was, to recall the Jeronimite Fathers. Though for ſome time before this they had poſſeſſed no real power (we find that their letters to the authorities in Spain were never anſwered), yet their preſence and their influence

muſt ſtill have been productive of good, and muſt at leaſt have been felt as a conſiderable reſtraint upon evil. Thoſe, therefore, who cared for the welfare of the Indies, muſt have been ſorry to ſee the laſt veſtige of the policy of the great Ximenes now altogether effaced from the Indian government.

It has been ſtated,* that, on the Jeronimite Fathers placing the Indians in ſettlements, the ſmall pox came among them and carried off numbers. As I ſaid before, I think this cauſe of the deſtruction of the Indians (a very convenient one for the conquerors to allege) has been exaggerated. And I am confirmed in this opinion by a letter written by Zuazo, which muſt have arrived at court about four or five months before this time, in which he ſays nothing of the ſmall pox, but puts as one of the main cauſes of the decreaſe of the Indians the frequent change of government that there had been, which led to new *repartimientos*, and to changes of climate and water for the Indians, which were fatal to many of them, as in a number of ſmall things, paſſed rapidly from hand to hand, even with care, the number is ſoon diminiſhed.

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* See Oviedo and Herrera.

Juſt at this time, when the biſhop of Burgos was carrying it with a high hand in the council of the Indies, a little gleam of good fortune broke moſt unexpectedly upon Las Caſas and his cauſe. In all his affairs at court, he had principally been converſant with the late chancellor, yet ſome knowledge of the buſineſs, for which Las Caſas worked at court with ſuch indomitable perſeverance, was doubtleſs generally circulated amongſt the courtiers. Amongſt them there was a certain Monſieur de Bure (a young man, as I conjecture), who, it appears, had a deſire to make himſelf acquainted with this buſineſs of the Indians. He cauſed this wiſh to be made known to the clerigo; they had a meeting in the palace; and Las Caſas acquainted him fully with the whole ſtate of the caſe. Monſieur de Bure was much affected by the clerigo's narration. De Bure was a powerful man, being the nephew of de Laxaos, who enjoyed great influence with the king, and who, being lord chamberlain, ſlept in the king's room. He was a perſon celebrated for his wit, and probably on that account his ſociety was exceedingly reliſhed by the grave young king. Monſieur de Bure brought Las Caſas to his uncle de Laxaos, who alſo was much intereſted in the account which

Flemiſh Courtiers favour Las Caſas.

Las Caſas gave of Indian affairs, and the reſult was, that he found protectors in theſe powerful men of the king's houſehold and council.

At this time the Spaniſh court ſent over Rodrigo de Figueroa to take reſidence of the auditors of the audience of St. Domingo, and of the judges appointed by the admiral. A Doctor de la Gama was appointed to take reſidence of the Lieutenant Governor of San Juan and of Velaſquez in Cuba: and Lope de Soſa was ſent to ſucceed Pedrarias as governor of the Terra Firma, and to take reſidence of the ſame governor. Information having been given that the inhabitants of Trinidad were cannibals, the king's council reſolved to order war to be made upon them; but Las Caſas prevailed upon the council to inſert in the inſtructions which Figueroa was to take with him, that, as the clerigo Bartolomé de Las Caſas aſſerted that the natives of Trinidad were not cannibals, on arriving at St. Domingo, Figueroa ſhould examine carefully into the truth of this ſtatement. He did ſo, and found that theſe poor iſlanders were not cannibals, but very quiet people, as Figueroa himſelf afterwards bore teſtimony.

What Figueroa and theſe other authorities accompliſhed may be ſeen at another time; but the

cauſe of the Indies was now to be fought at the Spaniſh court; and Las Caſas was the only knight who perſeveringly did battle there in its behalf.

Pedro de Cordova's letter.

At this period the clerigo received a letter from Pedro de Cordova, in which, after telling of ſome horrible exploits of the Spaniards in the iſland of Trinidad, and expreſſing himſelf in a way that ſeems to ſhow he was much diſſatisfied with the proceedings of the Jeronimite Fathers, the good prelate of the Dominicans went on to ſay, that he wiſhed that one hundred leagues on the coaſt of the Terra Firma about Cumaná were ſet apart by the king, ſolely to be entered by the Franciſcan and Dominican monks, for the purpoſe of preaching the Goſpel there. His deſire was, that no layman might be permitted to enter, ſo that no hinderance might occur to the good work: and he ſuggeſted, that, if Las Caſas could not get a hundred leagues, he ſhould try and get ten; if he could not get ſuch a tract of land on the Terra Firma ſet apart for this purpoſe, he ſhould try and get ſome little iſlands, called the iſlands of Alonſo, about fifteen or twenty leagues from the coaſt. The object was, that this land ſet apart might be a city of refuge for the poor Indians, and a place wherein to teach the Goſpel to them. Pedro de Cordova added, that, if none of theſe

requeſts ſhould be granted, he would recall the brethren of his order from thoſe parts, for it was of no uſe their preaching "when the Indians ſaw "thoſe who called themſelves Chriſtians acting in "oppoſition to Chriſtians."

The good father imagined that Las Caſas was very powerful at court, not knowing how things were changed by the death of the chancellor, and the return of the Biſhop of Burgos to power. However, Las Caſas did what he could to further the requeſt of Pedro de Cordova, but with no avail, the Biſhop of Burgos ſaying, the king would be well adviſed indeed to grant a hundred leagues without any profit to himſelf. Such was the reply, as Las Caſas notes, of one of the ſucceſſors of the apoſtles, who laid down their lives for the ſake of converſion. And as for profit to the king, "no profit did he derive for forty years "and more from thoſe hundred leagues, or from "eight thouſand in addition, except to have them "ravaged, deſolated, and deſtroyed."*

As nothing could be done at preſent in the ſcheme ſuggeſted by Pedro de Cordova, Las Caſas returned to the proſecution of his own plan,

* Las Caſas, Hiſt. de las Indias, lib. 3, tom. 2, cap. 104.

namely, the ſending out of labourers to the Weſt India iſlands. In this he was favoured by the cardinal Adrian and the other Flemings; and he ſucceeded in obtaining all the proviſions and orders that he wanted for that purpoſe. Amongſt others, he procured that a certain eſquire called Berrio, an Italian, ſhould be appointed by the king, and called the king's captain: he was to accompany Las Caſas, to be under his orders, and to give notice by trumpet in the various towns of the purpoſe which Las Caſas came to announce. This man, however, had no intention of really ſerving under the clerigo, but he went to the Biſhop of Burgos, and ſecretly got his orders altered from "do what he ſhall deſire you," to "do "what may ſeem good to you." *

Las Caſas purſues his emigration ſcheme.

The clerigo with his ſquire and other attendants ſet off on his expedition for procuring emigrant labourers. He directed his courſe from Saragoſſa towards Caſtile, aſſembling the people in the churches and informing them of the benefits and privileges they would enjoy by emigrating. Numbers conſented to go, inſcribing their names in a book. At Berlanga, out of a population of two

* "Manda el Obiſpo luego que ſe raya la cédula, y que donde "decia hagais lo que él os dixere, hagais lo que os pareciere."—Las Casas, *Hiſt. de las Indias*, lib. 3, t. 2, cap. 104.

hundred, more than ſeventy inſcribed their names. It gives a curious inſight into thoſe times, to ſee that the inducement with theſe people to emigrate, was to get away from the Seignorial rights over them. They came to Las Caſas with the greateſt ſecrecy; and he relates this ſpeech made by four of them. "Señor, none of us wiſhes to go to "the Indies for want of means here, for each of "us has a hundred thouſand maravedis of *haci-* "*enda* and more, but we go to leave our children "in a free land under royal juriſdiction."

As was to be expected, the lords of theſe places were very hoſtile to Las Caſas; but their oppoſition was a trifling evil compared to the inſubordination of Berrio. This man often requeſted to go to Andalucia, where he was married. The clerigo would not allow this; they would come, he ſaid, to Andalucia in good time; they were upon duty now: but no remonſtrances retained Berrio, who came one day, booted and ſpurred, to the clerigo, and aſked if he had any orders for Andalucia. Las Caſas then learnt for the firſt time that this Berrio was in fact no ſervant of his, but free to act for himſelf: and the man accordingly took his departure in this moſt wilful faſhion. The miſchief did not ſtop here. Berrio went to Andalucia, and, having collected about two hun-

dred vagabonds, tapſters and royſterers and idle people, anything but labourers, went with them to the India houſe at Seville. The official perſons there, having received no orders about them, were in complete perplexity what to do. However, they ſhipped them off in two veſſels which happened to be on the point of ſailing at that time; and this unfortunate rabble of emigrants in this way arrived at St. Domingo. There again the official people had received no orders to provide anything for the emigrants, many of whom died; others crowded into the hoſpitals; others returned to their tapſter mode of life; and others preyed upon the Indians. Thus ended this miſerable expedition; and this ending may juſtly be attributed to the outrageous conduct of the biſhop of Burgos in altering a deſpatch, after it had been ſigned.

Las Caſas reſolved to return to court. He was now fully aſſured of the facility of obtaining emigrants, but he did not wiſh to do any more at preſent than he had done in the matter, conſidering the probable oppoſition of the great lords and the defection of Berrio, and alſo taking into account the readineſs of the common people to emigrate, which made it only a ſubject of more concern to ſee what was to be done. When the

biſhop of Burgos had heard the clerigo's account of his expedition, in which he told his lordſhip that he could anſwer for procuring not only three thouſand but eight thouſand labourers, the biſhop ſaid it was "a great matter, a great matter in-deed;" but, as uſual, nothing came of it, only that by repeated and energetic remonſtrances Las Caſas prevailed upon the council to ſend wine and proviſions after the poor wretches who had already ſailed. But theſe ſupplies came too late. And ſo ended this plan for the benefit of the Indies.

With all our aids and appliances of modern times, we, too, find emigration to be no light undertaking—one of the main difficulties being that the emigrants are generally of one claſs, ſo that the peculiarities of that one claſs are liable to be developed to the uttermoſt, and have to be provided for all at once.

At this time the court removed to Barcelona. A controverſy that the clerigo had there with the biſhop of Burgos about the emigration ſcheme deſerves to be recorded. Las Caſas would not in any way further the propoſed emigration without being aſſured of the emigrants receiving ſupport for a year after their arrival. This was a fundamental part of his ſcheme, and finding that it was

not to be conceded, and that other perſons were being ſought for, to take charge of the emigration, he wrote to the towns which he had previouſly viſited, and warned the people againſt going. When Las Caſas was arguing one day before the council of the Indies for the allowance of a year's ſupport to be made to the emigrants, " the biſhop " ſaid that the king would ſpend more with thoſe " labourers, than with an armada of twenty thou- " ſand men (the lord biſhop was much more " verſed in fitting out armadas than in ſaying " maſſes), to which Las Caſas replied: It appears " then to your lordſhip, that after you have been " the death of ſo many Indians, you wiſh to be " the death of chriſtians alſo. But it was put in " that courteous way (I do not myſelf ſee the courteſy), though not without ſarcaſm. I do not " know," he adds, " whether the biſhop, who was " no fool, took it."

Las Caſas abandons the emigration ſcheme.

In fine, nothing could be made of this hard biſhop, and, Las Caſas, almoſt glad to be freed from the reſponſibility of the emigrating ſcheme, immediately turned his fertile mind to another plan, which he thought might with worldly men appear more feaſible.

There was ſtill in his thoughts the original plan

of Pedro de Cordova, for encloſing, as it were, a hundred leagues on the Terra Firma and forbidding the entrance of laymen into it. That ſcheme, however, was liable to the objection of the biſhop of Burgos, that it held out no ſolid pecuniary advantage to the crown. Theſe two things, profit for the king and the preaching of the goſpel, muſt therefore be combined; and from this idea came the following ingenious propoſition.

I may mention here, in the way of parentheſis, that a new grand chancellor, a learned and good man, according to our hiſtorian, had come from Flanders. This chancellor favoured Las Caſas, as his predeceſſor had done; but he ſeems not to have had the influence of Selvagius, and to have been of a quiet and retiring character.

Las Caſas's own plan.

The new propoſition was this. Las Caſas engaged to find fifty Spaniards, which he thought he could do amongſt the coloniſts, moderate and reaſonable men, who would undertake the good work he had in hand for them out of chriſtian motives, at the ſame time having a fair view to furthering their own intereſts by lawful means. He limited himſelf to fifty, becauſe fifty would be more manageable than a greater number, and would be ſufficient for peaceful converſe with the Indians.

Theſe fifty were to ſubſcribe two hundred ducats each, making ten thouſand in the whole, which he thought would be ſufficient to provide the requiſite outfit and ſuſtenance for a year, and preſents for the Indians.

The fifty were to wear a peculiar dreſs, white cloth with coloured croſſes, like the knights of Calatrava, with ſome additional ornament. Much ridicule was afterwards thrown on this part of the ſcheme; and the men, inſtead of being called knights, got the name of *ſanbenitos*, in alluſion to the dreſs of heretics worn at an auto da fé. The object, however, of having a peculiar dreſs, was to diſtinguiſh this band from any Spaniards whom the Indians had ſeen before. They were alſo to bring a meſſage to the Indians of a new tenor, telling them that they were ſent to ſalute them from the king of Spain who had heard of the evils and oppreſſions they (the Indians) had ſuffered, that they were to give them preſents as a ſign of amity, and to protect them from the other Spaniards who had done them injury.

Las Caſas ſays that he had it in his mind, if God had proſpered the work, to get the pope and the king to allow this body to be formed into a religious fraternity.

For the profit of the king Las Caſas held out the following inducement, that he would pacify the country aſſigned to him, which he requeſted ſhould begin a hundred leagues above Paria and extend down the coaſt a thouſand leagues,* and that after being ſettled there three years he would contrive that the king ſhould have fifteen thouſand ducats of tribute from the Indians and the Spaniſh ſettlements, if there ſhould be any; that this tribute ſhould increaſe gradually, till at the tenth year, and thenceforward, it ſhould amount to ſeventy thouſand ducats.

Las Caſas alſo offered to found three ſettlements in the courſe of five years with a fortreſs in each of them. Moreover he would extend the geographical knowledge of the country and give the king information on that head: and he would do what he could to convert the natives without its being any charge to the king.

The clerigo on his part demanded that the king ſhould aſk for a brief from the pope to allow the clerigo to take with him twelve prieſts, Franciſ-

* It was reſtricted to three hundred.

cans and Dominicans, who ſhould come voluntarily: and that his holineſs ſhould give a plenary indulgence to all thoſe who ſhould die on the voyage, or in the act of aſſiſting in the ſaid converſion.

He alſo demanded that he might take ten Indians from the iſlands, if they would come with him of their own accord.

He alſo made it a proviſion that all the Indians who had been taken from that part of the Terra Firma which ſhould be aſſigned to him, ſhould be delivered to him for the purpoſe of being reſtored to their own country.

We come now to the inducements for the fifty to combine in this enterpriſe. They were to have the twelfth part of the revenues accruing to the king, and to be enabled to leave this to their heirs for ever.*

Then they were to be made knights of the golden ſpurs, and to have a grant of arms. Such of them as the clerigo ſhould appoint, were to have the government of the propoſed fortreſſes and of the ſettlements. There were alſo many other proviſions and exemptions made in their

* This was granted only for four deſcents.

favour (ſuch for inſtance as their ſalt being tax-free), which we need not recount.

Each of the fifty might bring three negroes—half of the number men, half women,† and hereafter, if it ſhould ſeem good to the clerigo, they might have ſeven more negro ſlaves each. It is evident, therefore, that at this time Las Caſas had not diſcovered his error with regard to the negroes.

On behalf of the Indians, Las Caſas demanded that the king ſhould give aſſurance that neither at this preſent nor at any future time, the Indians within the limits agreed upon, being in due obedience and tributary, ſhould be given to the Spaniards in *encomiendas*, or in ſlavery of any kind.

There was to be a treaſurer, a contador and a judge.

Alſo, as a falſe relation of what ſhould take place in theſe territories might be carried to the king, the king was to promiſe, that on no account would he make any change in the order of things, as regarded this colony, without firſt hearing from the treaſurer and the contador.

Several other matters of detail were provided

† Rather a difficult matter; but I ſuppoſe it means that the total number brought over ſhould conſiſt of an equal number of males and females.

for: but the above is an outline of the moſt important portions of this propoſal made by Las Caſas. Like anything of long extent and large bearings, it preſents certain points of attack; but upon the whole, if ſufficient power were given to the head of the colony, it was likely to work well. The plan reminds one of feudal times and of an abbot with a large domain and a retinue of knights to do his bidding. Thoſe abbacies, probably, did not work ill for the poor in their neighbourhood.

The great ſcheme being now ready, in which it may be obſerved that Las Caſas aſked nothing for himſelf, he explained it to the grand chancellor and the other Flemings, who received it favourably and deſired him to lay it before the council of the Indies. There it was very ill received by the unflagging enemy of Las Caſas, the biſhop of Burgos, and by the reſt of the counſellors. Still they did not utterly reject it, but ſought by delay to put it aſide. At this time the chancellor and Chièvres, the lord of Croy, were obliged to go to the borders of France, to treat of peace with the French king. Las Caſas urged the ſettlement of his buſineſs; and, on mentioning to the Flemings, that he wiſhed to leave the court on account

of his poverty, Monſieur de Bure and a relation of his advanced the clerigo money, for fear he ſhould have to leave the court while the chancellor was abſent. The favour of Las Caſas with the Flemings on the king's arrival in Spain, has been attributed to a wiſh to oppoſe the policy of Ximenes and the Spaniſh counſellors. Theſe gifts to Las Caſas cannot be accounted for on this ſuppoſition: he ſays that theſe men had no intereſt to ſerve; and there is no reaſon to doubt, that they acted from a regard for the man and a belief in the goodneſs of his cauſe. The chancellor and Monſieur Chièvres returned; but ſtill Las Caſas could make no way in the council of the Indies. Not daunted, however, his fertile genius and amazing vigour ſtirred up new means for furthering his cauſe, and thus bring before us one of the moſt intereſting epiſodes in the whole of this narrative.

It has been a common practice at courts, to have certain ſet preachers. For the Spaniſh court at this time there were eight preachers to the king: and Las Caſas bethought himſelf of laying his troubles and the wrongs of the Indians before theſe eccleſiaſtics, and beſeeching their favour and aſſiſtance. I will here give their names, as I think

we ought not to grudge naming men who, though they come but once or twice before us, and ſpeak but a few words in the great drama of hiſtory, do ſo in a way that adds honour to their names. Firſt, then, there were the brothers Coronel, Maeſtro Luis and Maeſtro Antonio, both very learned men, doctors of the univerſity of Paris; then there was Miguel de Salamanca, alſo a doctor of the ſame univerſity, maeſtro in theology, afterwards biſhop of Cuba; then Doctor de la Fuente, a celebrated man in the time of the late cardinal Ximenes, of his univerſity of Alcala; then brother Alonſo de Leon of the Franciſcan order, very learned in theology; brother Dionyſius of the order of St. Auguſtin "a great preacher and very "copious in eloquence:" the names of the other two Las Caſas has forgotten.

The king's preachers and Las Caſas formed a junta: they admitted one or two other *religioſos* into it, the brother of the queen of Scotland being one of them. Each day this junta met at the monaſtery of Santa Catalina, and were, as the hiſtorian deſcribes, a ſort of antagoniſt council to that held daily on Indian affairs under the auſpices of the biſhop of Burgos. They met at the ſame hour as the Indian council, perhaps the better to

evade obſervation, for I imagine their proceedings were kept quite ſecret.

The concluſion this junta came to, was, that they were obliged by the Divine Law to undertake to procure a remedy for the evils of the Indies: and they bound themſelves to each other by oath, that none of them were to be diſmayed or to deſiſt from the undertaking until it ſhould be accompliſhed. The Court preachers employ themſelves in Indian affairs.

They reſolved to begin by "the evangelical "form of fraternal correction." Firſt, they would go and admoniſh the council of the Indies; if this had no effect, they would then admoniſh the chancellor; if he were obdurate they would admoniſh Monſieur Chièvres; and if none of theſe admonitions addreſſed to the officers of the crown were of any avail, they would finally go to the king and admoniſh him.

If all theſe earthly powers turned a deaf ear to fraternal admonitions, they, the brethren, would then preach publicly againſt all of theſe great men, not omitting to give his due ſhare of blame to the king.*

* "En tal caſo públicamente predicaſen contra todos ellos "dando ſu parte de la culpa al Rey."—Las Casas, *Hiſt. de las Indias*, lib. 3, tom. 2, cap. 132.

This reſolution drawn up in writing they ſubſcribed to, and they ſwore upon the croſs and the goſpels to carry out their reſolve.

We leave theſe men for the preſent, waiting with no little intereſt to ſee what they will do.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

C. WHITTINGHAM, TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

314476

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Author Helps, (Sir) Arthur,

Title The conquerors of the new world and their bondsmen.
Vol. 2.

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